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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No., CXLVIII.

JULY, 1850.

ART. I. — *Memoirs of Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON*,
Bart. Edited by his Son, CHARLES BUXTON, Esq.,
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8vo. pp. 614.

WE resume our sketch of Mr. Buxton's labors and character as a philanthropist with some account of his efforts for the abolition of slavery and for the final suppression of the slave trade in the British dominions, showing how he conducted that cause which Mr. Wilberforce had formally committed to his care in 1821.

The history of the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807, shows that that measure was not a solitary and unconnected act, not the work of a temporary faction, not done inconsiderately or under a passing impulse; but that it was the legitimate result of a long succession of contests obstinately fought and victories gallantly won, the results of which had made the nation free, powerful, and Protestant. The great political questions involved in the dispute as to the rightful succession to the throne having been virtually set at rest about the middle of the last century, and the preponderance of the House of Commons in the British Constitution being established, the minds of men were turned towards those improvements in the social condition of the people which were so much needed. Then began that revival of religious feeling, which the fervor and activity of Wesley and Whitfield spread through the whole body of the nation, which aroused the

Established Church, created the Evangelical party, and, aided by the advance of education and general intelligence, built up a public opinion to which the abolitionists could appeal for reform. Then Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Stephen, Macaulay, and Wilberforce accomplished what many before them, as pure and high in purpose as they, had considered, despaired of, and abandoned.

No record would be more full of interest than one which should fully set forth the motives by which these men were impelled, the allies by whom they were assisted, and the various fortunes through which they waged that war which ended in their great victory. We know of no contest in which the principles of good and evil appear in forms more simple and severe, or in which the defenders of the Right were impelled by purer motives. For the early abolitionists arose "because of the oppression of the needy, and because of the deep sighing of the poor." They appealed to humanity in behalf of mankind; and by their discretion no less than by their zeal, by self-command as much as by inflexible adherence to the principles of justice, they proved themselves worthy to plead such a cause before such a tribunal. They gained their cause; and by abolishing the British slave trade, they accomplished a work whose importance we cannot estimate; for they pledged the most powerful nation of Christendom, — that nation which has most influence over the civilized world, and most power over the barbarous — the great Colonizer, which sends the living advocates of its home-bred principles to flourish and grow strong in every quarter of the world, — they pledged this nation and its descendants to maintain, wherever their power extends, the principles of freedom. They left their successors a long and arduous task to perform; but they left them their example. Let us see how those upon whom the duty of fulfilling this pledge first devolved acquitted themselves of their task.

Sixteen years had now passed since the abolition of the British slave trade. But the interval had not been one of repose for those who had triumphed in that long contest. The voice of warning mingled with the first cry of congratulation: — "You have crossed the Red Sea, indeed," wrote Dr. Burgh to Wilberforce, "but Pharaoh may follow your steps, and aim at some abridgment of the deliverance; keep then

prepared to craze his chariot wheels, and disappoint every effort of men who have not only opposed you, but mingled their opposition with predictions of what other nations may do, and even with threats of repeal at home." To maintain this constant guard, the African Institution was founded, on the first anniversary of the day in which the abolition bill had received the royal assent. The leaders of the party were untiring in their efforts to secure the faithful and efficient execution of the law which prohibited the slave trade to British subjects, and never ceased urging their own government to use the whole weight of its influence to induce foreign powers to join with them in suppressing the traffic.

But this constant attention to the subject could not but bring these men to perceive how highly desirable it was, not only that the trade in slaves should be stopped, but that the state of slavery itself should cease to exist. They considered, too, that there were no obstacles to its abolition in the British Colonies, either of a prudential or of a constitutional nature, which, by a wise and just course of legislation, the British Parliament could not overcome. Having arrived at this conclusion, the next step was to devise the best possible plan of parliamentary operations.

Accordingly, at Mr. Wilberforce's invitation, Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Buxton repaired to Marden Park (where Mr. W. then resided) early in January, 1823. "Long and deep," we are told, "were their deliberations, how best to shape those measures, which were to change the structure of society throughout the Western World." Early in the following March was published Mr. Wilberforce's Manifesto "on the present state of the negro slaves in the British Colonies, calling all good men to concur in endeavoring to improve their condition, in order to fit them for the enjoyment of liberty."

Whether those who exerted themselves for the abolition of the trade distinctly contemplated, at the time of their efforts for that purpose, the future abolition of slavery as the final result of their endeavors, may be a matter of doubt. In an able article in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1804, in favor of the abolition of the trade, it is said, "the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade most cordially reprobate all idea of *emancipating* the slaves that are already in our plantations. Such a scheme, indeed, is sufficiently answered by the story

of the galley slaves in Don Quixote, and, we are persuaded, never had any place in the minds of those enlightened and judicious persons who have contended for the abolition with so much meritorious perseverance."* But in 1823, when the outworks had been carried, and the attack was now warm upon the citadel itself, the same journal holds different language. "Nothing, surely, can be more untrue than the assertion, that emancipation was never heard of till the abolition was obtained; or that they who supported the one disavowed any views of attempting the other." "The fullest avowal of their ultimate views was made by those wise and humane individuals, and the most distinct notice of their intentions, when they treated as absurd the notion of perpetual bondage."† Thus it appears that a Review may review its own opinions as well as those of other people, and that, too, with some asperity. But any apparent inconsistency is explained by the probable supposition that the latter article was written by Lord Brougham.‡

On the 19th of March, Mr. Wilberforce presented to the House of Commons a petition from the Quakers, "who, having been the first to protest against the slave trade, now led the way in the attack on slavery;" and Mr. Buxton gave notice that, on the 15th of May, he would submit a motion, "that the House should take into consideration the state of slavery in the British Colonies."

Outside the walls, too, operations were commenced. The Anti-Slavery Society was now formed, and measures taken to excite the popular feeling, and to procure an expression of the sentiment of the nation.

At the appointed time, Mr. Buxton offered the motion of which he had given notice; and it is worthy of note, that, in his opening speech, he declared distinctly, that while he looked forward to the extinction of slavery, he did not advocate sudden, but gradual, emancipation. To the resolutions which Mr. Buxton introduced, Mr. Canning, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, offered certain amendments, which were

* *Ed. Review*. iv. p. 477.

† *Ib.* xxxix. p. 126.

‡ See *Life of Wilberforce* Vol. p. 167. "I have had two long talks with Brougham, and have gradually opened to him our feelings and views. He offered voluntarily to write an article on slavery for the very next *Edinburgh Review*."

Wilberforce's Diary for 1823.

carried ; and in accordance with them, thus amended, circular letters were addressed by the Government to the various colonial authorities, recommending them to adopt certain measures which had no tendency toward emancipation, but were only calculated to improve the condition of the slaves. But these recommendations, temperate and just as they were, were received by the colonists with the most vehement indignation. "They could find no language sufficiently bitter to express their rancor ; the colonial legislatures unanimously refused submission to the recommendations of the government." Acts of violence occurred. In Demreara, a futile insurrection of the negroes brought down the merciless vengeance of their masters. A missionary, named Smith, apprehended on charge of exciting revolt, was tried by a court martial of militia officers, and condemned to be hung ; but he died in prison. The news of this ferment among the colonies produced the greatest consternation in England. The leaders of the abolition party were overwhelmed with reproaches. Those who had joined them for the popularity of the cause were now loudest in the outcry. Government drew back. The principles and measures which Mr. Canning had advocated the year before were now restricted to the most meagre limits ; and the pledge, that if the Colonies refused to accept the recommendations of Government they should be forced to obey its commands, which he had given "in favor of a whole archipelago, was reduced to a single island."

Mr. Buxton did not hesitate to upbraid the minister for his vacillating conduct. He read over the resolutions of the previous year, and showed how wide apart are the pledges of '23 and the acts of '24. "Compensation to the planter, emancipation to the negro — these are my desires, this is the consummation, the just and glorious consummation, on which my hopes are planted, and to which, as long as I live, my most strenuous efforts shall be directed."

On the 1st of June, the case of the missionary Smith was brought forward by Mr. Brougham, and, in a speech of four hours length, treated in a manner which made a strong impression upon public feeling. He was followed by Sir James Mackintosh ; after whom spoke Dr. Lushington, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Denman. Their efforts were not without success. They put the conduct of the colonists

in its true light before the nation, and changed the current of public feeling. Government, indeed, remained impassive ; and as Mr. Canning had positively declared that another year of trial should be given the colonial governments, before the mother country took the task of amelioration into its own hands, nothing remained for the anti-slavery party but to wait till that interval had elapsed.

But Mr. Buxton did not allow the time to slip away without yielding its results. Forced to let the West Indian question rest for the present, his mind turned upon a new, though kindred, subject. The island of Mauritius, lying about ten degrees west of Madagascar, had been ceded to England by France in 1810, three years after the abolition of the British slave trade. But it appeared that, partly owing to this very circumstance, and partly to the facilities afforded by the neighborhood of the African coast, the importation of slaves to the island had continued uninterrupted except during one or two brief intervals. A gentleman by the name of Byam, who had been Commissary-General of the police at the Mauritius, and General Hall, who had for a short time been Governor of the island, gave Mr. Buxton the first information upon the subject. He obtained from them a large mass of documents, which he studied long and carefully. The result was a conviction that their statements were true. He was appalled by the magnitude of the evil. Distant, almost inaccessible, it was a foe not easily grappled with? But could he sit still under the knowledge of such abuses? A year's leisure was before him, and, with his friend Dr. Lushington, he undertook the task of reform.

“ On the 9th of May, 1826, Mr. Buxton brought the Mauritius question before parliament. In the commencement of his speech, he reminded the House that the traffic in slaves was by law a felony. ‘ And yet,’ he continued, ‘ I stand here to assert, that in a British colony for the last fourteen years, except during General Hall's brief administration, the slave trade in all its horrors has existed ; that it has been carried on to the extent of thousands, and tens of thousands ; that, except upon one or two occasions, which I will advert to, there has been a regular, systematic, and increasing importation of slaves.’

“ He then proceeded to prove this statement, adducing the evidence of one admiral and four naval captains, one general and three military officers, five high civil officers, and two out of the

three governors of the island ; and then, from calculations which he had very fully and accurately made, he proved every one of the eight distinct heads of accusation which he had brought forward. By a return of the number of black population in the Seychelles, he showed that there was only one alternative, either the slave trade had been carried on, or every female in that group of islands must have been the mother of one hundred and eighty children." pp. 193-4.

A select committee was appointed to inquire into the subject ; but Parliament being dissolved soon after, its investigations were brought to a close. The rest of the year 1826 was spent by Mr. Buxton in collecting evidence bearing upon the points he wished to establish ; and in this labor he was much assisted by the zeal and diligence of Mr. George Stephen and Mr. Byam.

Early in 1827, Mr. Buxton moved that a committee of inquiry be again appointed ; but at the request of Government, his motion was deferred till the 26th of May. Meanwhile, Sir Robert Farquhar, the late Governor of Mauritius, complained to the House of Commons of the charges of maladministration brought against him in Mr. Buxton's speech of the last session, and dared him to the proof. During the week preceding the day appointed for the motion, his attention was wholly devoted to the contemplated case. But the anxiety which it involved, joined with the cares and fatigues which had long been wearing upon him, now seriously affected his health. Still the business was too important to be checked by slight obstacles, and his overstrained powers were urged to the task.

"He spent the Saturday in taking a general view of the evidence which had been collected, of the atrocious cruelties practised upon the negroes, both in their importation, and afterwards, when they were reduced to slavery. On the course of that unhappy morning, he was so completely overwhelmed with anguish and indignation at the horrors on which he had been dwelling, that he several times left his papers and paced rapidly up and down the lawn, entirely overcome by his feelings, and exclaiming aloud, ' Oh, it's too bad, it's too bad ! I can't bear it.' "

The result was thus forcibly described by himself, some months afterwards.

"Last spring, the whole force of my mind, and all my faculties, were engaged in preparing for the Mauritius question. I

had pledged myself to prove that the slave trade had existed and flourished in that colony ; that the state of slavery there was pre-eminently cruel, and that persons of eminence there had tolerated these enormities. It is, I think, but justice to myself to admit, that the object was a worthy one ; that I had embraced it from a sense of duty ; that my mind was imbued, with deep affliction and indignation at the wrongs to which the negro was exposed. I spared no pains, and no sacrifices, in order to do justice to my cause ; and the anxiety and labor which I endured preyed upon my health. About the middle of May, I went to Upton, in order to improve it by change of air ; but I was then under the pressure of disease, and my physician described my state by saying, 'you are on fire, though you are not in a blaze.' I concealed from others, I did not even admit to myself, the extent of my indisposition. I could not doubt that I felt ill, but I was willing to suppose that these were nervous feelings, the effects of fatigue of mind, and that they would vanish, as they had often done before, when the exertion was at an end.

"On Saturday, May 19th,* I took a survey of the case of cruelty to the negroes, and for two or three hours I was distressed beyond measure, and as much exasperated as distressed, by that scene of cruelty and horrid oppression. I never in my life was so much moved by any thing, and I was so exhausted by the excitement, that I could not that day renew my exertions. The next morning I awoke feeling very unwell. My wife and family went to a place of worship, and my daughter remained with me. I think, but I have not any clear recollections, that I told her about 12 o'clock to send for Dr. Farre. I have a vague idea of my wife's return, but beyond that, all is lost to me. The fact was, that I was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and it was not till the following Wednesday that I showed any symptoms of recovery." pp. 199, 200.

On recovering consciousness, his first words were, that he must hurry to the House to bring forward his motion on the Mauritius ; nor would he be assured that the appointed time had passed until the proceedings of the House on that evening were read to him from the newspaper report. It was more than a year before he gained sufficient strength to attend to his ordinary duties, nor did he ever fully recover from this frightful attack.

Toward the close of the session of 1829, Sir Robert Farquhar referred to the charges of which he had formerly complained, and demanded that they should either be proved or retracted.

"Mr. Buxton explained the reason why the matter had been

dropped, and read the opinion of his physician, that he could not attend to public business in Parliament without danger to his life. But he pledged himself, if alive in the next session, to accept the challenge of the honorable B^{ar}onet. However, in the course of the summer the commissioners returned, and their report rendered any further exertion unnecessary. In spite of the great difficulties by which they had been surrounded, (for the inhabitants had banded themselves together in a sort of conspiracy, to prevent any evidence from being laid before them,) they had established the fact of the Mauritius slave trade, and to a great degree ascertained its extent; and they clearly proved that this trade had continued in full vigor, except during the administration of General Hall." pp. 232-3.

So far as the controversy related to Sir R. Farquhar, it was terminated by the sudden death of that gentleman early in 1830; and in the spring of that year, Government declared that they were convinced by the report of their commissioners, "that slave trading to a vast extent had prevailed at the Mauritius;" and that all the statements of Mr. Buxton had been well founded. At the same time, they announced that they were ready to adopt immediate measures for the suppression of the trade, and for the liberation of those slaves who had been illegally imported. And thus the labors of Mr. Buxton and his friends were crowned with complete success.

Meanwhile, the question of West India emancipation had assumed a new aspect. The year of probation granted by Mr. Canning to the colonial governments expired in 1827; but the colonies had not availed themselves of this opportunity of reform, and nothing, in fact, had been done towards ameliorating the condition of the slaves.

"Of the eight bills recommended for their adoption by Mr. Canning, *not one* had been accepted by any colony, except Nevis. But the Government were not yet discouraged; they were still anxious to persuade, rather than to compel."

"Accordingly, in 1828, Sir George Murray, as a last experiment, despatched circular letters to all the colonial Assemblies, once more urging them, in strong terms, to effect for themselves the required improvement in the condition of their slaves. These circular letters were, like the former, entirely disregarded." p. 210.

Thus, in 1830, though the abolition party had made but little stir, they had made great progress. Since attention had been attracted to West Indian slavery, seven years before, the

crisis which was now at hand had been slowly approaching, and this, not through the exertions of the abolitionists, but by the action of the planters themselves. A few years before, the idea of emancipation had been odious both to Parliament and to the people. "If," said Mr. Buxton in 1827, "a man had a large share of reputation, he would lose the greater part of it by espousing the cause of the slaves; if he had a moderate share, he would lose all; and that is my case." But the planters had meanwhile been the able and most efficient allies of those whom they considered their bitterest enemies. By their invincible obstinacy, they had chilled the sympathy with which many had been disposed to regard them. They had aroused some feelings of anger by the defiance and contempt with which they had hurled back the quiet suggestions of the Government; and the severity with which they had punished the rebel negroes had shocked every feeling of humanity. The whole religious public was excited. "They had condemned Smith to the gallows, and thus turned the Independents against them; they forced Shrewsbury to fly for his life, and the Wesleyans were aroused; the Baptist chapels were razed to the ground, and the Baptists became their enemies." They had charged the abolitionists with hypocrisy and falsehood, and the abolitionists in reply had laid bare the facts of their system. The planters had maintained their right to uphold a wrong. They had exposed to the people of Great Britain the enormous evils of slavery, and had convinced them that a gradual reform of those evils was impossible. The result was, that all minds now inclined toward immediate emancipation.

Looking, as we now do, upon the unprosperous condition of the principal islands of the British West Indies, many persons are led to doubt the wisdom of those who brought about the emancipation of the slaves. It is said, that crime is more prevalent among the free blacks than it was among the slaves; that the arts of civilized life are disappearing from the community; that the quantity of sugar, coffee, and "the nobler spices" now raised upon the islands is much less than when "black Peter and black Paul" were stimulated to the production of them by the use of the "beneficent whip;" and, in short, that the freed blacks are behind the slaves in the performance of those duties which they owe to themselves, their

neighbors, and the world at large. Emancipation, it is affirmed, has added to the evils of the world, instead of diminishing them.

Whether these allegations are well founded, and whether this is the time when the final result of so great a social change may be fairly determined, we will not now ask. But before we condemn the emancipation party for errors revealed to us by the strong light of experience—and by the “*Latter-day Pamphlets*,”—we must prove that they were mistaken as to two important facts, which they maintained as the principal grounds of their determination:—First, that the amelioration of slavery had been fairly and patiently attempted without a particle of success. “It was not,” said Mr. Stanley, when Colonial Secretary, in his speech of the 14th of May, 1833, “it was not till all means had been exhausted; till every suggestion had been made; till every warning had been given; and had not only been given in vain, but had been met by the colonial legislatures with the most determined opposition; that England took the work of reconstructing West Indian society into her own hands.” And, secondly, that under the system of slavery, *as it then and there existed*, the slaves were gradually dying off. “The appalling fact was never denied, that at the time of the abolition of the slave trade, in 1807, the number of slaves in the West Indies was 800,000; in 1830, it was but 700,000; that is, in twenty-three years, it had diminished by 100,000. (p. 273.) Let those who lament the falling off in the exports of these islands consequent upon emancipation, estimate the deficit which would have occurred from the slow murder of the slaves. Consider the present condition of the free blacks as degraded as we may, still it cannot be maintained that they were better off under the awful cruelties which this fact of diminishing population establishes. And the abolitionists knew either that this state of slavery must continue, or that the slaves must be made free; for the planters had driven them off from the whole middle ground. And they took their course accordingly.

“In May, 1830, a crowded meeting assembled in Freemason’s Hall, with Mr. Wilberforce in the chair. The first resolution, moved by Mr. Buxton, expressed that ‘no proper or practicable means should be left unattempted for effecting at the earliest

period the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.' It was seconded by Lord Milton (now Earl Fitzwilliam,) who had throughout supported the cause with all the weight of his station and character, though by so doing he had placed himself in opposition to the administration of which his father was a member. Other speeches and resolutions followed in the same strain, till at length Mr. Pownall rose to declare in a few vigorous words that temporizing measures ought at once to be abandoned. 'The time,' said he, 'is now come when we should speak out, and speak boldly, our determination—that slavery shall exist *no longer*.' These words embodied the feeling which already pervaded the anti-slavery party, and from this time immediate emancipation became its avowed object." pp. 260, 261.

But Government was not yet prepared to take decisive measures, and the efforts of the abolition party were now directed towards forcing it to adopt the course which they thought the true one.

"During the session of 1830, nothing of moment was effected, except that, on the 13th of July, Mr. Brougham obtained a large minority in favor of ultimate abolition. On the 20th of the same month, three days before Parliament was prorogued, Mr. Buxton, in his place in the House, made an earnest appeal to the electors throughout the kingdom, repeating the statement made by Canning in 1823, that 'the first step towards emancipation should be the abolition of the practice of flogging females.' He showed that even this first step had not yet been taken; a decision having recently been made by a large majority in the Jamaica House of Assembly, that females should continue to be flogged indecently; and he proved in detail that each of the other abuses, which in 1823 it had been proposed to mitigate, still existed in the colonies unchecked and unaltered." p. 262.

Meanwhile the question of parliamentary reform was deeply agitating the nation. The ministry of the Duke of Wellington was broken up, and succeeded by that of Earl Grey. In the interval between the sessions of 1830–31, Mr. Buxton labored diligently in collecting proofs of the decrease of the slave population, and, having completed his researches, brought them to the notice of the House of Commons in a speech delivered on the 15th of April, 1831. The effect of this speech upon public opinion was, in fact, decisive. At its conclusion, Mr. O'Connell, who had ever been a steady and strong advocate of the cause, came across the House, and said, "Buxton, I see land." If the position then taken could

be maintained, success was certain. The opposite party made every effort in their power to dislodge their opponents; but the conclusions at which Mr. Buxton had arrived were deduced from the returns of registration "*sworn to by the planters themselves*," and were impregnable. Parliament was soon after dissolved, but early in the next session, it appeared that Government, too, was moved, for Lord Howick, Under Secretary for the Colonies, referring to the ineffectual remonstrances which his three predecessors in office had addressed to the Colonies, declared that "the time had arrived when the language of exhortation should cease." The West India party now prayed Parliament that a committee of inquiry might be granted them, feeling assured that the information collected by it would "relieve their fellow colonists and themselves from the obloquy under which they now labor." Mr. Buxton saw in this committee "a pretext for delay and nothing else," but the committee was granted, and he himself was examined by it. "He gladly availed himself of the opportunity of communicating some of his abundant information, and laid before it twenty-seven documents, prepared with extreme care." Although the report of the committee was indecisive, the effect of its investigations, says Mr. Charles Buxton, "was to diffuse more knowledge and sounder principles."

As we have seen, Mr. Buxton was prepared to urge "immediate emancipation;" the Government, on the other hand, liberal though it was, still wished to postpone this step till "a progressive improvement should have been made in the character of the slave population, by the temperate enforcement of ameliorating measures." They repeated their recommendations to the Colonies, indeed, with increased earnestness; but like all who have office and wish to keep it, they were loth to assume the responsibility of so important a measure, and unwilling to offend a body whose parliamentary strength was so great as that of the West Indian interest. Heartily attached as Mr. Buxton was to Whig principles, and warm as was his personal regard for many members of the Cabinet; it was with the greatest reluctance that he assumed a position at variance with theirs. The maintenance of this Ministry, too, was almost vital to the success of his cause; but profoundly versed as he was in the state of the West Indies, nothing seemed to him so pernicious as hesitation and delay.

Not only did such a course imply the continuance of the state of things which a declining population denoted, and the reiteration of remonstrances and recommendations now nine years old, but it was fraught with danger to the whole population of the islands. The slaves were not ignorant of these discussions of their fate. They were restless, and suspicious lest their masters should withhold from them the freedom already granted by the mother country. The danger of insurrection increased with the delay of action. "The gun is cocked and at the shoulder," said Mr. Buxton; and he dared not postpone a motion for immediate emancipation. Here, then, he came to issue with the Government. He proposed to move for a committee "to consider and report upon the best means of abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions, with a due regard to the safety of all parties concerned." The Government first endeavored to persuade him to postpone this motion; and, failing in that, begged him to add the words, "conformably to the resolutions of 1823." To this he could not accede, but persisted both in offering his original resolution, and in dividing the House upon it. It was a characteristic step, and one of great importance; and the following extracts from a letter written by his eldest daughter to his family give a vivid account of all that occurred.

"The debate has at length actually taken place, and great cause have we to be satisfied with the result, now that we are safe on the other side of it. It is difficult exactly to recall the feelings and opinions of the preceding days; it was, however, the usual course, — every possible assault from friend and foe to make my father put off his motion, and when that was found hopeless, to induce him to soften it down, or not to divide the House. Dr. Lushington was of opinion that it would endanger the cause to persevere, and difference of opinion with him is worse than any thing to my father. The Government were also most pressing, and the terms they offered extremely tempting. On Tuesday morning my father and Dr. Lushington were a long time with Lord Althorp and Lord Howick, both of whom used every argument and almost every entreaty. I believe he did not reply much at the time, but was cruelly beset, and acutely alive to the pain of refusing them, and, as they said, of embarrassing all their measures, and giving their enemies a handle at this tottering moment. They said, besides, that the public were so occupied with Reform, that it was only wasting the strength of the cause; nobody

would listen, and the effect would be wholly lost, whereas if he would wait a little, they would all go with him ; their hearts were in fact with him, and all would be smooth, if he would have a little reason and patience. On his return he related all this to us, and proposed writing a letter to Lord Althorp previous to the final interview, which was to take place the next day." pp. 298, 299.

" Thursday morning, May 24th, came. My father and I went out on horseback directly after breakfast, and a memorable ride we had. He began by saying that he had stood so far, but that *divide he could not*. He said I could not conceive the pain of it, that almost numberless ties and interests were concerned, that his friends would be driven to vote against him, and thus their seats would be endangered. But then his mind turned to the sufferings of the missionaries and of the slaves, and he said after all he must weigh *the real* amount of suffering, and not think only of that which came under his sight ; and that if he were in the West Indies, he should feel that the advocate in England ought to go straight on, and despise those considerations. In short, by degrees, his mind was made up. When we got near the House every minute we met somebody or other, who just hastily rode up to us. ' Come on to-night ? ' ' Yes. ' — ' Positively ? ' ' Positively ; ' and with a blank countenance, the inquirer turned his horse's head, and rode away. I do not know how many times this occurred. In St. James's Park we met Mr. Spring Rice, whom he told, to my great satisfaction, that he *positively would divide*. Next Sir Augustus Dalrymple came up to us, and after the usual queries, said, ' Well, I tell you frankly I mean to make an attack upon you to-night. ' ' On what point ? ' ' You said, some time ago, that the planters were opposed to religious instruction. ' ' I did, and will maintain it. ' We came home and dined at three." p. 300.

They go down to the House, and the ladies find places in the ventilator. Mr. Buxton offers his motion, speaks upon it, and is followed by Mr. Macaulay and Lord Howick.

" Lord Althorp proposed the amendment of adding ' conformably to the resolutions of 1823. ' Then came the trial. They (privately) bc-ought my father to give way, and not to press them to a division. ' They hated, ' they said, ' dividing against him, when their hearts were all for him ; it was merely a nominal difference, why should he split hairs ? he was sure to be beaten, where was the use of bringing them all into difficulty, and making them vote against him ? ' He told us that he thought he had a hundred applications of this kind, in the course of the evening ; in

short, nearly every friend he had in the House came to him, and by all considerations of reason and friendship, besought him to give way. Mr. Evans was almost the only person who took the other side. I watched my father with indescribable anxiety, seeing the members, one after the other, come and sit down by him, and judging but too well from their gestures, what their errand was. One of them went to him four times, and at last sent up a note to him with these words, 'immovable as ever?' To my Uncle Hoare, who was under the gallery, they went repeatedly, but with no success, for he would only send him a message to persevere. My uncle described to me one gentleman, not a member, who was near him, under the gallery, as having been in a high agitation all the evening, exclaiming, 'Oh, he won't stand! Oh, he'll yield! I'd give a hundred pounds, I'd give a thousand pounds, to have him divide! Noble! noble! What a noble fellow he is!' according to the various changes in the aspect of things. Among others, Mr. H—— came across to try his eloquence: 'Now don't be so obstinate; just put in this one word, 'interest;' it makes no real difference, and then all will be easy. You will only alienate the Government. Now,' said he, 'I'll just tell Lord Althorp you have consented.' My father replied, 'I don't think I exaggerate when I say, I would rather your head were off and mine too; I am sure I had rather yours were!' What a trial it was. He said afterwards he could compare it to nothing but a continual tooth-drawing the whole evening. At length he rose to reply, and very touchingly alluded to the effort he had to make, but said, he was bound in conscience to do it, and he *would* divide the House. Accordingly, the question was put. The Speaker said, 'I think the noes have it.' Never shall I forget the tone in which his solitary voice replied, 'No, Sir.' 'The noes must go forth,' said the Speaker, and all the House appeared to troop out. Those within were counted, and amounted to ninety. This was a minority far beyond our expectations, and from fifty upwards, my heart beat higher at every number." pp. 301, 302.

"On Friday, Dr. Lushington came here and cheered him, saying, 'well, that minority was a great victory;' and this does seem to be the case."

A few months afterwards, Mr. Buxton writes his daughter, "I saw T. B. Macaulay yesterday; he told me one thing, which has much occupied my mind ever since, and which furnished the subject-matter of my meditations as I rode by the light of the stars to Upton last night. He said, 'you know how entirely every body disapproved of your course in

your motion, and thought you very wrong, very hard-hearted, and very headstrong ; but two or three days after the debate, Lord Althorp said to me, '*That division of Buxton's has settled the slavery question.* If he can get ninety to vote with him when he is wrong, and when most of those really interested in the subject vote against him, he can command a majority when he is right, *The question is settled* ; the Government see it, and they will take it up. So reported Macaulay ; and he added, 'Sir James Graham told me yesterday, that the Government meet in a week ; they will then divide themselves into committees on the three or four leading questions, for the purpose of settling them. Slavery is one.' "

In pursuance of Mr. Buxton's motion as amended by Lord Althorp, a committee was appointed of which Sir James Graham was chairman. It prosecuted its investigations from June till August, and the evidence given before it was published at the same time with that taken before the committee of the House of Lords, which had been asked for by the West Indians. "The general impression," says Mr. Charles Buxton, "was that they had established two points : — First, that slavery was an evil for which there was no remedy but extirpation ; secondly, that its extirpation would be *safe*."

The Reform Bill was passed, Parliament was dissolved, and in 1833 a new and reformed House of Commons met.

"It was generally understood that Earl Grey's government was about to undertake the settlement of the question, and Mr. Buxton went down to the House of Lords, on the 5th of February, in full expectation of hearing from the King's speech, that one of the great measures of the session was to be the emancipation of the slaves. Great was his disappointment, when the speech closed without any allusion whatever to the subject. He hastened back to the House of Commons, and, immediately on the Speaker's return, gave notice of a motion on the 19th of March for the abolition of slavery. A few minutes afterwards, one of his friends hurried up to him, and said, 'I have just been with Brougham and Goderich, and they conjure you to do nothing hastily ; you will wreck the cause if you do.' 'What ? not give notice of a motion ?' said he. 'O, no ! by no means,' was the reply ; 'you will knock the whole thing over.' 'But it's done !' said Mr. Buxton. This prompt proceeding had an immediate effect on the ministers." pp. 312, 313.

Vexed and alarmed as he had been at the entire silence of

the King's speech upon the subject nearest his heart, he was relieved and delighted when, in consequence of his prompt action, Government declared that they would "undertake the question, and introduce a safe and satisfactory measure." "This delights me," he writes, "and now I scorn those critics who maintain that the children of Ham ought to be flogged by all good Christians." The weeks passed on, but still Government named no day for a motion; no plan was officially announced, and rumors got abroad that the whole Administration were by no means prepared to adopt the vigorous measures which some of its members proposed. Mr. Buxton knew from long experience the weight of the West India party in the national councils; he knew, too, that the questions of Finance, India, and the Church, were to be disposed of this session; he could not, therefore, but feel somewhat alarmed when, notwithstanding Lord Althorp's promise, so long a time was suffered to elapse without the appearance of any measure at all. This anxiety weighed heavily upon him. "He is much depressed," says one of the family letters, "because the ministers do not name a day; he does not know whether or not to execute his threat of bringing his motion forward next Tuesday: for this he is almost unprepared; and besides, they promise so well that it seems doubtful whether it would be right to go to war with them. He sleeps badly, and is very anxious."

"His whole heart and soul, in fact, were given up to the work, and the depth and intensity of his feelings were visible in all his deportment; he looked pale and care-worn, and his tall figure began to show signs of stooping. He spoke little, and was continually engrossed in thought. His demeanor could not be more exactly portrayed, than by Spenser's lines:—

' But little joy had he to talk of aught,
Or aught to hear that mote delightful be;
His mind was sole possessed of one thought
That gave none other place.' "

p. 317.

The 19th of March, the day named for his motion, came on, and he rose to propose it.

"Lord Althorp requested him to postpone it to a future time; but he replied that he was compelled to resist the request, except upon two conditions: first, that the Government would prepare a plan for the complete and immediate abolition of slavery; and

secondly, that they would fix a day for introducing that measure to the House.

‘I see clearly,’ he said, ‘what will be the fate of this great question, if I postpone it without some definite assurance that it will be brought before the consideration of the House. It will be postponed for the session—and then, there is much reason to fear, it will be settled elsewhere in the most disastrous manner. Therefore, however obstinate I may appear, and however painful it may be to me to resist the request, before made to me in private, and now in public by the noble Lord, I am compelled to proceed at once with the motion, unless His Majesty’s Government can fix a day on which they will be prepared to explain their plans with respect to colonial slavery.’

“Lord Althorp, upon this, named the 23d of April, and then my father formally told the Government that he gave up the question into their own hands, upon the security of the declaration made to him that the proposed measure was to be safe and satisfactory.

“The fears by which he had been harassed lest the ministers should allow the session to pass away without bringing any measure forward, were now at an end. The day for the motion was fixed, and when this long desired step was taken, he sank for a while into a feeling of profound repose. He was able to sleep at night, and began to resume his cheerfulness of manner. He thought, that, as the Government had been prevented from delaying the question, the grand point was gained; and that it only remained for him and his friends to await the unfolding of their measure. ‘I have no more to do with slavery now than any other gentleman,’ was an expression frequently on his lips during that interval of rest.” pp. 319, 320.

But he was not yet to be freed from his anxieties. A change took place in the colonial department of the Cabinet, by which Lord Howick, upon whose concurrence of opinion he thoroughly relied, was succeeded by Mr. Shaw Le Fevre, while Mr. Stanley was made Secretary of the Colonies. It appeared that the Cabinet had refused to concur in Lord Howick’s plan for immediate emancipation, and were inclined to make the negroes buy out their own freedom. This seemed to Mr. Buxton a measure neither safe nor satisfactory, because it was dilatory and unjust. He consulted with the leaders of the abolition party as to what should be done in this new turn of affairs. “Their opinion as to the course they should pursue was unanimous. The higher powers were clearly about to fail them; the nation was firmly on their side; why not, then,

place the matter in the nation's hands?" In short, it was determined that the matter should be brought before the whole country, that the engines of moral suasion should be immediately applied to the people, and the pressure of public opinion let on to the ministers. The whole machinery of agitation was quickly set in motion; numberless pamphlets were sent out, innumerable petitions were sent in; lecturers spread abroad to every corner of the kingdom, and delegates from every town in the land assembled together. Those who stood by caught the enthusiasm. Newspapers and periodicals, the clergy and dissenting ministers, urged upon their readers and their flocks the sinfulness of slavery and the righteousness of emancipation.

The leaders of the party were fully aware that it was more easy to excite a popular feeling like this, than to direct it; and for their own sakes and the truth's, they would not have availed themselves of this rude force, could they have influenced the ministry in any other way. Mr. Buxton found reason to think that "people's principles were the greatest nuisance in life;" and he experienced the difficulty of guiding a public opinion composed of few ideas and many prejudices; "but on the whole, a sufficient degree of unanimity was obtained."

Owing to the change in the Cabinet, the motion of the Government was postponed from the 23d of April to the 14th of May, and on that evening Mr. Stanley opened the debate. "He had been Colonial Secretary little more than a month, yet he showed that, vast as the subject was, he had, in that short time, completely mastered its details, had become conversant with all its dangers and difficulties, and was prepared to settle it forever." The main features of the plan proposed were apprenticeship for the negro and compensation to the planter. To these Mr. Buxton agreed, and confined his efforts to effect some modifications in the practical details of the plan. But that numerous and zealous body of abolitionists which had been brought into action, had been imbued with only one idea, — emancipation; and to them it appeared that any variation from the naked simplicity of that idea was a departure from their true end and aim. Apprenticeship and compensation seemed to them a mutilation of the truth and to be abhorred. The party divided, one portion adhering to

their old leaders, and the other rushing forward under the lead of such as would keep in advance of them. To a vote of censure passed upon him by a committee of this division he replied as follows:—

“Our cause, I trust and believe, is essentially prospering. Patience and confidence perhaps we cannot expect from lookers-on; but we are not therefore absolved from our duty to God and the negro race to act according to the best of our judgments and consciences; and this, I can safely affirm, I, at least, have done. My character is of very little consequence. Indeed, had I not long ago learnt that I must sacrifice that, as well as almost all else, to this cause, I should, between my foes and my friends, have led a very unhappy life. But I have learnt, that severe as is the task of incurring the displeasure of those I esteem my duty frequently calls for it; and I acknowledge myself amenable to no human tribunal in this cause. . . . Pray believe that I write in perfect good humor; but it is necessary I should be independent, and independent I will be, or how can I give an account of my stewardship?” p. 333.

When Mr. Stanley's bill was brought before the committee of the whole House, the important debate occurred. Mr. Buxton proposed to reduce the term of apprenticeship from twelve years to one year, and lost his amendment only by a majority of seven. The next night, Mr. Stanley consented, in deference to the wishes of the House, to reduce the period of apprenticeship to seven years. An apprenticeship for this term of years, and a grant of £20,000,000 to the planters, were the main features of the bill which passed the House of Commons on the 7th of August, 1833, and received the royal assent on the 28th of the same month. The planters afterwards agreed to surrender the apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838.

But the joy of the abolitionists at their success was tempered by a grief in which all parties joined. As the bill was passing through its last stages in the House of Commons, their first and most beloved leader, Wilberforce, expired. He died, thanking God that he should have lived to witness the day in which England was willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery. He died as he had lived, full of joy from the abundance of his gratitude.

Since the days of the Great Commoner, we think no man has exerted so strong an influence upon the source of British

history, upon the national character, as William Wilberforce. Since the final establishment of liberty in that kingdom, which we should not date earlier than the settlement of the law of libel in 1792, the great moral progress made by the nation owns him as its leader. He brought mercy and righteousness into the land prepared for them by justice and freedom. Without rank, without power and without party, he derived all his strength from himself and from his cause. If the secret of his success be sought, it is found in this, that he, more than any man whose history we know, appreciated the value of the highest Christian virtues as means of success in the affairs of business and of the world. It was by the faithful study of himself, by keeping his "own heart diligently," that he acquired his rare knowledge of men, and his delicate tact in dealing with them. It was because his sympathy was unbounded and intense that his influence was so wide and strong. His policy was unerring, because his objects were high above the mists and currents of selfishness. He was wise by obedience to that law which "maketh wise the simple." The eminence which he gained in virtue was surpassing; yet we do not know that it was more extraordinary than the unwearied efforts which he used to attain it. He succeeded in bringing into every-day life that holy spirituality which we imagine to be attainable only by the saintly self-denial of the recluse. "I begin to think," said Mr. Buxton, "that of all men Wilberforce is the most subjected, and controlled, and invariably in the right frame of mind." And yet so constant was the development of his powers, so certain and invariable the high progress of his nature, that, as one who marks the movement of the stars in their course of light, foretells from the past their future orbit and position, so the Baron de Staël saw in the onward march of his heaven-directed life and powers one of the strongest proofs of a future and a happy existence to be found apart from revelation. He is the great exemplar to be followed by all future philanthropists. Probably few men have ever enjoyed more happiness in this world than he; for his pleasures were culled from the right hand of wisdom, and the pure current of his life ever ran, like the brook Siloam, "fast by the oracles of God."

It is not our purpose to treat in detail the various subjects which occupied Mr. Buxton's attention during the three

remaining years of his parliamentary life. "The spring and summer of 1834 were spent chiefly in active exertions for the benefit of those so soon to be liberated, watching the regulations adopted in the different islands; carefully investigating the appointment of the stipendary magistrates, and especially endeavoring to provide for the education and religious instruction of the negroes." To this important subject he called the attention of the Colonial Secretary, and used every effort to turn the operations of various benevolent societies in this direction. The British Foreign and Bible Society promised a New Testament and Psalter to every negro who should be found able to read on the Christmas day after emancipation. Among other projects was one to obtain possession of Lady Mico's fund. A certain Lady Mico, who had died a century and a quarter before, left a sum of money to her daughter upon one condition, that she should not marry a specified individual. As was very natural, the young lady's attention being so forcibly directed towards a prohibited party, and some of the baser interests of her nature being arrayed against some of its finer feelings, she did marry the man to whom she and the penalty were attached, and in obedience to the provisions of her mother's will, the money was devoted to the redemption of white slaves from Barbary. But, as there were now no white slaves in Barbary to be redeemed, the fund had accumulated till, in 1827, it amounted to £110,000. "After much trouble and expense, this money was obtained, and invested in the names of Dr. Lushington, Mr. Buxton, and two other trustees, to be employed in the education of the negroes;" while Government added a temporary grant of £20,000 per annum for the same purpose. "The proper and most efficient application of this money occupied much of Mr. Buxton's time and attention."

The 1st of August, the day on which the emancipation of the slaves was to take place, drew near. It was very generally observed in England as a day of rejoicing; but to many it was a day of intense anxiety, which was only relieved by the receipt of news from the Colonies, bearing unvarying testimony to the admirable conduct of the negroes on the day of freedom.

"Throughout the Colonies, the churches and chapels had been thrown open, and the slaves had crowded into them, on the evening of the 31st of July.

“As the hour of midnight approached, they fell on their knees, and awaited the solemn moment, all hushed in silent prayer. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang upon their feet, and throughout every island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all; for the chains were broken, and the slaves were free.”

We find, in Sir R. R. Schomburgk's recently published *History of the Island of Barbados*, a letter written by Mr. Buxton, not included in this volume of *Memoirs* of him by his son, which illustrates so pleasingly his candor, magnanimity, and strict regard for truth, even in relation to a cause about which his feelings were painfully excited, and which seems too often to kindle in its other advocates that fiery zeal in which their reputation for temperance, veracity, and kindness of speech is wholly consumed, that we cannot resist the temptation to quote it entire. It appears that Mr. Buxton, deceived by information which seemed at the time to be perfectly trustworthy, had brought a public accusation, expressed in very severe language, against the planters of Barbados generally, and against the Solicitor-General of that island in particular, “for aiding and abetting in forcing the apprenticeship of free children without the consent of their parents.”

“Against this unjust aspersion, the legislative Houses remonstrated, and the Solicitor-General, Mr. (now Sir) R. Bowcher Clarke, addressed himself individually to Mr. Buxton in order to remove this unfounded accusation, so prejudicial to his character. The following letter, in which the late Sir Thomas Buxton retracted the erroneous statement, and of which he sent a copy to Lord Glenelg, is worded in terms so honorable to the writer that I gladly insert it:—

“London, June 26th, 1837.

“Sir,

“I have received your letter of ——. In the first place allow me to express my sense of the delicate and kind manner in which you conveyed your complaint of the statement I had made to Lord Glenelg, and to thank you for your charity in ascribing to unintentional error those observations of mine, which under your feeling of unmerited obloquy might have been imputed to another cause, and might have been called by harsher names. I have no hesitation in saying at once, that I was betrayed into a great error, and that I was the means of inflicting an injury upon you which you did not merit. My only apology is, that I derived my information from an informant whom I know

to be incapable of wilful misrepresentation, that I copied verbatim his statement, and requested that an inquiry might be instituted.

"Since the receipt of your letter, and the perusal of his Excellency the Governor's despatch, I have communicated with my informant. He has called my attention to the fact that he spoke of your intentions early in December, and that your public proceedings did not take place until the following January. This relieves him from the imputation of stating that which the smallest inquiry would have proved to be without foundation, but it makes no other difference. Your intentions in December must be judged by your acts in the following months. I therefore altogether withdraw my charge, and request your pardon for having made it.

"I take the liberty of adding, for the sake of my own character, that in a controversy which has now lasted fourteen years, this is the first occasion on which I have found it necessary to retract any thing I have asserted, and that in this case I stated no more and no less than I received from a very respectable, and, in other instances, a very accurate informant. I have sent a copy of this letter to Lord Glenelg, and I trust it will prove satisfactory to his Excellency the Governor, as well as to yourself.

"I have, &c.,
(Signed) "T. FOWELL BUXTON."

He was much occupied at this time, too, by inquiries into the treatment and condition of the aboriginal inhabitants of the British Colonies; and, in July, 1834, moved an address to the King upon this subject, calling particular attention to the *commando* system of Southern Africa. The address was passed unanimously, and the next session he obtained a committee of inquiry into the origin and conduct of the Caffre war. Meanwhile, Lord Glenelg, Secretary for the Colonies, became convinced that the tract of territory taken from the Caffres had been seized unjustly; and he therefore determined that it should be restored. The troops in occupation were accordingly marched back again to the British territory, and protectors of the aborigines were placed in every Colony where the British came in contact with them. The committee on the condition of the aborigines, together with one appointed to inquire into the workings of the apprenticeship system in the West Indies, occupied Mr. Buxton's time very fully, until the dissolution of Parliament in the summer of 1837; when, standing again for Weymouth, which he had represented for nearly twenty years, he lost his election.

His defeat appears to have been occasioned, not by any diminution of personal attachment to him on the part of his constituents, but by the increasing local influence of the Tory party, and by the unscrupulous means they used to carry the borough. He was well content with the result. Proposals were made to him from twenty-seven different places to stand as candidate, but he declined them all. "I mean for conscience' sake," he wrote, "to ride, shoot, amuse myself, and grow fat and flourishing." How thoroughly he devoted himself to his new object may be inferred from his writing his son in November. "I have been calculating that, since Parliament closed, I have ridden 500 miles and walked 1500."

We pass hastily over the period between the passage of the Emancipation Act and Mr. Buxton's withdrawal from Parliament, that we may dwell the longer upon the last, the most arduous, and, to us, the most interesting, labor of his life. Released from parliamentary duties, he had hoped for a period of repose; but looking up from his work, he saw fields white for the harvest where laborers were few. He spent but a moment in the shade, and grasping again the sickle labor-bright, he struck into the new field.

"I well remember," writes one of his sons, "the commencement of that long train of toils, anxieties, and sorrows. While my father and I were staying at Earlham, in the beginning of the summer of 1837, he walked into my room one morning, at an early hour, and sitting down on my bedside, told me that he had been lying awake all night, reflecting on the subject of the slave trade, and that he believed he had hit upon the true remedy for that portentous evil."

The idea that now struck him so forcibly, was this, — that "though strong external measures ought still to be resorted to, the deliverance of Africa was to be affected by *calling out her own resources*."

The idea having occurred to him, it was not allowed to fade slowly away, nor to lie unproductive of action; but as soon as possible he set himself to following out this train of thought to its farthest limits. He was compelled to defer this undertaking, till he reached home in the fall of the year, when he applied himself earnestly to the task. Throughout the winter, he revolved the subject in his mind,

read every book relating to it upon which he could lay his hands; and while he occupied himself in elaborate calculations respecting the extent of the slave trade, he sat at work a score of auxiliaries to collect proofs of the fertility and commercial resources of Africa. "Andrew Johnston and I," he writes, "are working like dragons at the slave trade. I only wish that the number of the hours in each day were doubled, and the number of minutes in every hour quadrupled." Having thus prepared his statistics, he went to London in the spring for the purpose of verifying them by naval and mercantile evidence of the highest authority.

"This done, he laid an epitome of his plans before different members of the Cabinet; by several of whom a disposition was evinced to investigate the matter further, and he was requested to prepare his plans in a more developed form by the beginning of the recess. Accordingly, at the end of May he went to Leamington, where he was joined by Mr. Scoble, an able and hearty fellow-laborer; and by Mr. McQueen, who was intimately acquainted with the geography and productions of Africa, and who had some years before declared his conviction, that the true way to abolish the slave trade would be to supplant it by lawful commerce. Aided by these gentlemen, he devoted himself sedulously to the task, frequently working at it about twelve hours a day." p. 446.

Of this "Letter to Lord Melbourne," but twenty copies were printed for the use of members of the Government, and by the middle of August, it was in their hands. Early in September, Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, sent for him for an hour's conversation. "The Government, says Lord Glenelg, are deeply interested by my book. Melbourne writes to him strongly about it. The Cabinet meet on Friday on the subject. Glenelg says they accede to all I have said, as to previous failures. In short, he was convinced to my heart's content. I have since seen Lushington; he is delighted with the book; accedes to it with all his heart." The Government examined his plans, acceded to them, and requested him to enlarge and publish his "Letter to Lord Melbourne," for the purpose of informing and arousing the public mind. He did so, and produced a work in two pamphlet volumes, called "The Slave Trade and its Remedy."

In this work, he first treats of the extent of the slave trade and the sacrifice of life which it occasions. His first

proposition is, "that upwards of 150,000 human beings are (1839) annually conveyed from Africa across the Atlantic, and sold as slaves;" which he substantiates by the best official authority, and corroborates by calculations and estimates drawn from the most trustworthy sources of information. His calculations are long and careful, and his conclusions always put considerably below the total sum at which he fairly arrives. He then considers the mortality involved in this shipment, in the seizure, march to the sea-shore, detention there, during the passage, and in the seasoning after landing on the American shore. From all these causes combined, he estimates the mortality at 145 per cent.; that is, if 150,000 slaves are annually imported into Cuba and Brazil, 225,000 have perished to furnish them, and, of those landed, 30,000 die within the year.

"It is impossible," he says, "for any one to reach this result without suspecting, as well as hoping, that it must be an exaggeration; and yet there are those who think this is too low an estimate. I have not, however, assumed any fact without giving the data on which it rests; neither have I extracted from those data any immoderate inference. I think that the reader, on going over the calculation, will perceive that I have, in almost every instance, abated the deduction, (inference,) which might with justice have been made."

But this enormous traffic is carried on in spite of the efforts of the British cruisers and the stipulations of foreign powers. And why? The traders, indeed, are excited by the enormous profits of the trade; but they could do nothing, were they not assisted by the Africans themselves. "The African has acquired a taste for the productions of the civilized world. They have become essential to him. To say that the African, under present circumstances, shall not deal in man, is to say that he shall long in vain for his accustomed gratifications." "We want three things," said an African chief; "powder, ball, and brandy; and we have three things to sell,—men, women, and children." Thus, both parties are eager for meeting and exchange, and the slender barrier of a line of cruisers must needs be overleaped. But turn one party from the barter, convince the African that he can obtain the supplies he needs more surely and abundantly by some other means than the trade in slaves, and he will accept those means, and

the slave trade ends. Call out, then, the resources of the country itself; establish a legitimate commerce for the disposal of her natural products. The fertile soil of Africa is your ally. The antagonist which is alone able to cope with the slave trade is legitimate commerce; and this commerce will spring up as soon as the natural products of the country can be brought to market, and the exchange established between these and the supplies which the African needs.

In the second part of his book, his object is to prove that the remedy he proposes can be applied.

“He established the fact, first, that gold, iron, and copper abound in many districts of the country; secondly, that vast regions are of the most fertile description, and are capable of producing rice, wheat, hemp, indigo, coffee, &c., and, above all, the sugar cane and cotton, in any quantities; while the forests contain every kind of timber, — mahogany, ebony, dye-woods, the oil-palm, &c.; besides caoutchouc and other gums. He also proved that the natives, so far from shunning intercourse with us, have been in every case eager and importunate that we should settle among them.”

“While the capabilities of Africa are thus extensive, the facilities for commercial intercourse are on the same scale. He mentioned those afforded by the great rivers on the west coast of Africa, especially the Niger, which had been explored by Lander to the distance of 500 miles from the sea, and the Tchadda, which runs into it: and he dwelt much on the singular fitness of the situation of Fernando Po, as an emporium of commerce. He emphatically declared his conviction, that Central Africa possesses within itself every thing necessary for the growth of commerce; and he proceeded to point out, in confirmation of this statement, that in certain spots on the west coast of Africa, where some degree of security had been afforded, agriculture and commerce had as a consequence immediately sprung up, and the slave trade had withered away. He derived his facts from authorities of the most varied and impartial description, including extracts from the authors most conversant with Africa; from the writings of the Governors of Sierra Leone, Fernando Po, and the Gambia; from those of all the travellers who had explored western Africa; and from those of African merchants, scientific men, and others, who had studied the subject at home.” pp. 450, 451.

The argument closes with a plan of action.

“The following were some of the specific steps suggested by him for turning the attention of the Africans from their trade in men to the trade in merchandise: — That the British Government

should increase the preventive squadron on the coast — should purchase Fernando Po, as a kind of head-quarters and mart of commerce — should give protection to private enterprises — and should enter into treaty with the native chiefs, for the relinquishment of the slave trade, for grants of lands to be brought into cultivation, and for arrangements to facilitate a legitimate trade.

“He proposed that an expedition should be sent up the Niger, for the purpose of setting on foot the preliminary arrangements in Africa for the agricultural, commercial, and missionary settlements; of entering into treaties with the native chiefs; of convincing the negroes of the uprightness of our intentions; and of ascertaining the state of the country along that vast tract of land which is traversed by the river Niger.

“A company was also to be formed, by private individuals, for the introduction of agriculture and commerce into Africa. This was to be effected by sending out qualified agents to form settlements in favorable situations; to establish model farms; to set up factories, well stored with British goods, and thus to sow the first seeds of commerce; and, in short, to adopt those means, which have been elsewhere effectual, in promoting trade and the cultivation of the soil. He admitted entirely that this company must not expect speedy returns, although he strongly maintained the reasonable prospect of eventual profit.

“Upon private individuals, also, would devolve the responsibility of coöperating with the religious societies in sending out a strong force of those upon whom he especially depended for the deliverance of Africa, missionaries and native teachers.

“He dwelt much upon the importance of making use of native agency for this purpose.” pp. 451, 452.

To complete this work by the appointed time he labored excessively. To Mrs. Buxton, who was in Florence for her health, he writes:—

“I have been working hard during the week, but yesterday we had our hardest day. With the exception of a few minutes in the garden, and a run to the cottage and dinner, I did not stop from breakfast to half-past one o'clock at night; and, what is more extraordinary, I had seven capital secretaries at work, and many of them during the whole day. We got on famously; till then I had been very doubtful whether I should not be obliged to stay a week longer.” pp. 465.

His exertions were not without effect. Government determined to adopt his proposals, to send an expedition to the river Niger, to explore that river, and, if possible, to set on

foot commercial relations with the people inhabiting its banks. Sir Edward Parry, being directed to prepare three vessels, decided that they must be built for the purpose; and during the necessary interval, Mr. Buxton took the opportunity to join his family in Rome. Before he went, a society was founded under the title of "The Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, and the Civilization of Africa," in which the Bishop of London, Lord Ashley, Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Thomas Acland, and other distinguished individuals took an active part.

In the spring of 1840, Mr. Buxton returned to England full of impatience to resume his labors. The work of preparing the three iron steamers for the expedition was going on. On the 1st of June, a meeting of those interested in the project was held at Exeter Hall, Prince Albert presiding, and was attended by a large and enthusiastic company.

"Shortly after this meeting of the African Civilization Society, it was intimated to Mr. Buxton, by Lord John Russell, that it was proposed to confer the rank of Baronet upon him. After some deliberation, having ascertained that the idea had not been suggested to the Government by any of his friends, but was a spontaneous mark of their approbation of his conduct, he accepted the title with much gratification." pp. 524, 525.

On the 14th of April, 1841, the Niger expedition sailed. Arriving at the mouth of the Niger in the month of August, that being the season recommended by those acquainted with the subject, the three steamers, the Soudan, the Albert, and the Wilberforce passed up the stream on the 20th of the month. At first, all went well. "Every one was in the highest spirits, cheered by the novelty and beauty of the scenery, and by the exhilarating feeling of the air, which appeared perfectly salubrious." But on the 4th of September, a fever of the most malignant character broke out on board the Albert, and almost simultaneously in the other vessels. They proceeded, notwithstanding; but soon the sickness increased with such appalling rapidity, that Captain Trotter, commander of the expedition, thought it advisable to send the sick down the river in the Soudan, under the command of a Lieutenant. At the mouth of the river they met the steamer Dolphin, which relieved them, and took them to Fernando Po. But the sickness on board the Albert and the

Wilberforce still continued ; and on the 21st of September, the *Wilberforce* was sent down stream, while Captains Trotter and Bird Allen pushed forward in the *Albert*. They kept on till the 4th of October, as far as Egga, 320 miles from the sea.

" But the sickness on board had become so very alarming, that it was found absolutely necessary, on the 4th of October, to steam down the river with all speed. Captain Bird Allen, who had been most anxious to persevere, and in fact almost all the officers and men on board, except the negroes, were seized with the deadly fever. Captain Trotter himself was at length disabled by it ; and at this critical period the engineers also were too ill to perform their duty ! Dr. Stanger (the geologist,) however, having learned how to manage the engines, from a scientific treatise on board, undertook to work them himself ; and Dr. MacWilliam in addition to his laborious duties in attending the sick, conducted the ship down the river, with the assistance of only one white sailor, ' in the most able, and judicious manner.' " p. 557.

" While the *Albert* was still a hundred miles from the sea, its disabled crew were surprised and delighted by seeing a steamer coming up the stream towards them. It proved to be the *Ethiope*, commanded by Captain Becroft, who had been directed by Mr. Jamieson to afford every assistance to the expedition. This timely assistance was of the greatest importance. Captain Becroft and his engineer took charge of the *Albert*, and brought her in safety to Fernando Po. It was hoped that Captain Bird Allen and his gallant fellow sufferers would rapidly revive under the influence of its purer air ; but many were already too much sunk to receive benefit, and the mortality was most painful. Of the 301 persons who composed the expedition, when it commenced the ascent of the Niger, forty-one perished from the African fever. It may be worth while to observe, that of the 108 Africans on board not one died from the effects of the disease. Captain Bird Allen fell a victim to it at Fernando Po, on the 21st of October." pp. 558, 559.

Thus failed the Niger expedition, defeated by obstacles which no degree of skill or courage could avoid or overcome. It may be imagined what anguish this melancholy prostration of his hopes wrung from the brave heart of Sir Fowell Buxton. His health, seriously impaired before, became more feeble now that failure in his most earnest purpose threw its shadow upon him. The clouds were gathering around his setting sun. " After the failure of the African expedition," writes one of his friends, " he was but the ghost of himself.

I do not say, as was recorded of a distinguished person after a great calamity, that he never smiled again; but it was evident to all, and I think, at all times, that a great storm had broken over him." "And yet," says his son, "the three years which elapsed between the failure of the Niger expedition and his death were brightened by not a few gleams of domestic happiness, by many country pleasures; by the great satisfaction of receiving in the main good tidings of the working of emancipation in the West Indies; by some encouragements about Africa, but above all, by the exercise of faith and the consolations of religion."

There was one feature of the case upon which he looked with hope. It was observed, that none of the Africans who accompanied the expedition were affected by the climate. "Our exertions," he writes, "have *not* been wholly useless. At all events, we know one thing which we did not know before. We know how the evil is to be cured; that it is to be done by native agency. *Africa is to be delivered by her own sons.*" If this idea be just, is there any land from which that deliverance can come so well as from our own?

Sir Fowell Buxton died at Northrepp's Hall, on the 19th of February, 1845, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. A character of such simplicity and strength, and a life so thoroughly governed by principle as his, afford but little occasion for disquisition or remark. His epitaph is written in his works. They best display his "plain, heroic magnitude of mind."

A few weeks after his death, it was proposed to erect a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Prince Albert was the first subscriber; but after his, the sum of each subscription was limited to two guineas. A list of many distinguished names was quickly formed; and when the project came to the knowledge of those whose welfare he had labored to promote, of the negroes in the West Indies, Sierra Leone, and Cape Town, and the natives of Caffraria, they eagerly came forward to add their testimonials of gratitude to these of respect. Four hundred and fifty pounds, chiefly in pence and half-pence, were contributed by upwards of 50,000 persons.

In the north transept of Westminster Abbey lie buried the statesmen of the British realm. There lie the earthly relics of the two Pitts, of Lord Mansfield, Grattan, Fox, Canning,

Wilberforce, and there stands the statue of Sir Fowell Buxton. One by one, escorted by the dignitaries of the land, by the Houses of Parliament, by the nobles and princes of the realm, have they received the last and most lasting honor in the power of their countrymen to bestow. The funeral rites are over; the stately procession has passed mournfully away; the heavy stones are replaced upon the tomb, and the heartless servitors are gone. No sound breaks the silence that reigns in this sanctuary of a nation's glory, this temple of a people's faith. In such a place, amid such silence and alone, let him, who would rightly judge, compare the merits of those who repose around him. The orator, the politician, the wit, the debater, the statesman, what rank do they hold when compared with those who devoted their lives and their strength to "redeem man from slavery, superstition, and crime."

ART. II. *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, prior to the Union with New Haven Colony, May, 1665; transcribed and published, in Accordance with a Resolution of the General Assembly, under the Supervision of the Secretary of State, with Occasional Notes and an Appendix.* By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Cor. Sec. Conn. Hist. Society, &c. Hartford: Brown & Parsons, 1850. 8vo. pp. 604.

HERE is another contribution, and a valuable one, to the accessible sources of the history of New England. The ancient records of the good old Colony of Connecticut, carefully transcribed from the already mouldering pages of the original, are in this handsome volume preserved from all future chances of destruction by decay or fire. Their publication is at once an office of piety, the erection of a monument to those whose memory ought to live forever in the commonwealth which they founded, and a service for which the future student of history will be grateful. It is the most appropriate and truthful eulogy that could be inscribed on the tombstones of the sleeping fathers of Connecticut. Monumental inscriptions, properly so called, are remarkable for any thing but

veracity ; they may record faithfully the feelings of the survivors, though the expression even of these is generally exaggerated and unnatural ; but they do no justice to the over praised or wrongly estimated virtues of the departed. Formal history, also, — that which is digested by the labors of subsequent generations from fading manuscripts and dim traditions, and set forth with all the varnish of rhetoric and the artifices of a political or sectarian purpose, — too often lies like an epitaph. Historical discourses, anniversary orations, and controversial publications, elicited by local patriotism and jealousy, are even less trustworthy ; the chief service done by them to the cause of truth is, that they often embody and preserve fragments of original testimony which might otherwise be scattered and lost. The porridge of declamation or controversy, in which these few peas are seen floating about, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, affords little nutriment or gratification to a healthy appetite. The sage question of Eliphaz the Temanite may be propounded to the writers of them, “Should a wise man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the east wind ?”

Let him who would know what manner of men our puritan forefathers were, study faithfully these original and continuous records, written by their own hands, of their counsels and actions. Their plain and business-like character is a most satisfactory attestation of their truthfulness. The penmen were not aware that they were writing for posterity. The orders of their magistrates, such as were rendered necessary from day to day by the exigencies of their situation, or were thought to be necessary in order to carry out their peculiar views of church and state polity, were simply copied out in what then seemed “a fair hand,” though it now appears a very crabbed one, for their own convenience. They aimed to establish a little settlement of God-fearing people in the wilderness, and they unconsciously founded an empire. So they intended only to proceed methodically in the business of the moment, and therefore to preserve a fair record of their proceedings for present use ; and they unconsciously wrote history and sketched their own characters. In that record, they appear alike in their strength and their weakness, their virtues and their faults. They knew not that the page would come to be scrutinized, centuries afterwards, with nearly as much curiosity and respectful earnestness as they themselves

evinced in studying the divine record of the release of the Israelites from Egypt and their subsequent wanderings in the desert, — a history which seemed to them to typify their own fortunes.

Many of the ordinances here registered and the matters to which they relate are seemingly trivial, so that the propriety of publishing them at all at this late day may appear questionable. Yet the preservation of them answers a higher purpose than the mere gratification of an antiquarian taste or an idle curiosity. The characters of men are more truly estimated from their ordinary conduct, their habitual management of their everyday concerns, than from the manner in which they meet great emergencies, or answer sudden calls upon their prudence, courage, or fortitude. Faculties which always slumber till some grand occasion calls them out do not constitute true greatness in the individual, nor add much to the well-being of the community in which he moves. We gain a more adequate idea of the pilgrim settlers of New England from strict observation of the manner in which they regulated their own households, and administered from day to day the little affairs of the infant colony, than from the most perfect record of the fight with the Pequods, Philip's war, or the struggle with James II. for the preservation of their charters. Even the banishment of heretics, the hanging of Quakers, and the trials of witches were infrequent occurrences or sudden epidemics ; they were extraordinary developments of only one side of puritan nature and belief, and were provoked by peculiar circumstances. To find the key to these occurrences, the true explanation of such events, we must study the character and situation of the authors of them as a whole ; and for that purpose, we must investigate the whole tenor of their lives, and judge them by little things as well as great. This attention to details may dispel much of the charm of romance with which their history is invested, and take away the varnish and gilding of their portraits ; but it will bring out the sober truth and the perfect likeness.

These records of the proceedings of the early magistrates of the Connecticut Colony, for the very reason that they relate chiefly to minute and insignificant events, remind us of one circumstance, which, obvious as it may seem, is too frequently lost sight of in considering the history of the settlement of New

England. We are too apt to form an opinion of the polity of our Puritan ancestors by asking what the effects of a similar system would be, if applied to the populous and prosperous communities in which we now live. We forget that one law, one kind of management, is appropriate for a household, and quite a different one for a large and flourishing state. Every father of a family is a despot under his own roof, — a kind and gentle one, it may be, — but still a ruler whose will is law, and whose commands are not to be gainsaid. His judgment, or that of the person to whom he delegates the task, is necessarily exercised in regard to the minutest concerns of the household. He may prescribe sumptuary laws to them without offence to the principles of political economy, and may regulate small points of conduct and behavior without deserving to be called a busybody. A good republican, a good democrat, when in the street, or at the polls, he may with perfect consistency be an absolute monarch at his own fireside. Now, a small and isolated society may bear more resemblance to a family than to a political community, and may consequently require to be governed rather in a paternal or patriarchal fashion, than after the manner of an organized state. Such was the condition, at one time, of the Highland clans, and such are still the relations which exist among the members of an Arab tribe.

The rights which a person inherits, and the duties which are incumbent upon him, in a family, or clan, or any other private community, are far different from those which are entailed upon him in a public community, an organized body politic. In the latter case, his mere personality, his presence in the state, entitles him to a full share of the social and political privileges which are enjoyed by the other citizens. They cannot justly ostracize him for differences of abstract opinion; whether Jew or Gentile, he has a right to dwell among them, and still to worship the god of his fathers, or the god of his own choice, provided always, that the offices of his creed do not subject them to serious annoyance or interruption, so that his proceedings, in legal phrase, may be abated as a public nuisance. But he has no right to enter a Christian household, where he is an utter stranger, and there spread his carpet on the floor, and pray towards Mecca. The master of such a house would transgress no law of hospitality, would violate

no principle of Christian or philosophical toleration, by uncere-
moniously kicking such an intruder out of doors. And the
case is but little altered, if it be a clan, all the members of
which have a common origin, or a private association, bound
together by a common and peculiar purpose, into which the
stranger thrusts himself, though he is of a different lineage,
and has other objects in view. He is still an intruder, and
may justly be compelled to withdraw. Take, for instance,
the case of the Shakers, those amiable and industrious fana-
tics and communists, who have established themselves in sepa-
rate villages within our own borders. If they choose to dwell
apart, and associate only with each other, if they are even
constrained to do so by their peculiar religious opinions, what
law of Christian courtesy or even-handed toleration do they
violate? Grant that their opinions are extravagant; still they
are not bound to admit among them a preacher who will
expose this extravagance to their faces. They enact the most
rigid sumptuary laws, and prescribe to their own members
with the greatest particularity what dress they shall wear,
what food they shall eat, and what work they shall perform.
But they do this with a distinct consciousness and an open
avowal, that they are a private association, not an independ-
ent political community. They virtually constitute but one
family, and they claim no more than what the law and public
opinion grant to every other family, — the right to regulate
their own affairs in their own way.

Apply the distinction that we have here indicated to the
case of the early settlers of New England, and we think it
effectually relieves them from the common imputation of an
intolerant and persecuting spirit, or a prying and meddlesome
administration. When they began their work of subduing
the wilderness, they were virtually a private religious associa-
tion, maintaining their allegiance to the British crown, and
holding their lands under patents originally granted to private
trading companies. Their primary object was not to consti-
tute a state, but to found a church. Their purpose was isola-
tion; they came hither to live by themselves. They came
hither to enjoy the privilege, not only of worshipping God
according to their own consciences, but of avoiding the sight
and shunning the contamination of others, who worshipped
after a different fashion. They left England because they

abhorred the sight both of prelacy and presbytery. They subsequently left Holland, where the Dutch had been very kind to them, because they were still obliged to live there within sight and hearing of practices and doctrines which were an offence to their nostrils. They crossed the ocean, because here they could obtain lands broad enough to guard themselves against even the neighborhood of heresy ; being the private owners of the soil, they could warn all Anabaptists, Quakers, Antinomians, and Episcopalians, as trespassers, off their grounds. They banished these people, not from any persecuting spirit, but because they did not like, or dreaded, their companionship. This new world was wide enough for all. They told the heretics to go away, and form communities for themselves, even as they, the pious people of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, had done. When Roger Williams, that "conscientious, contentious" man, began to split his metaphysical subtilties among them, and to confound their ears with strange doctrines — to say nothing of his instigating Mr. Endicott to cut the cross out of the king's colors, as an emblem which savored too strongly of papacy — they civilly prayed him to depart and leave them at peace. When the Quakers began to annoy them with their strange practices, the magistrates had them conducted to the borders of their jurisdiction, and ordered them to return no more. They came again, and were again dismissed, being threatened with death in case of further trespass. They came a third time, and then the magistrates, being resolute and God-fearing men, who would not break the word they had once passed, — hanged them.

Our forefathers came here as avowed separatists, to realize, if they could, the idea of a perfect Christian commonwealth in the wilderness. The first step towards the fulfilment of such a purpose was to leave the world and all its abominations behind them, and to guard themselves against any future influx of strange doctrines or irreligious practices. Their measures, consequently, are not to be judged by the rules of the world's policy, but by their adaptedness to the particular end which they had in view. The Bible was their standard, not only of faith, but of conduct. Reverencing the Old Testament quite as much as the New, and perhaps a little more so, they naturally adopted the children of Israel, while yet wandering in the desert under their inspired guides, as their prototypes.

Hence it was natural that they should adopt the Mosaic code, in all its breadth and severity, as their whole body of legislation. That they did not do so, but introduced many important modifications into the code, was owing to the prudence of some sagacious men among them, who saw that allowance must be made for the change of time and circumstances. In 1636, "Mr. Cotton being requested by the General Court [of Massachusetts] with some other ministers, to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did, this Court, present a copy of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next General Court." This "further consideration" was not favorable to Mr. Cotton's digest of the Mosaic code, which was finally set aside for a "Body of Liberties" drawn up by Nathaniel Ward, some time pastor of the church in Ipswich, but formerly a thorough-bred lawyer, and who was consequently aided both by spiritual and secular learning. In his code, after the Jewish fashion, the crimes of idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, and adultery were made punishable with death; but "although it retains some strong traces of the times, it is," says Mr. F. C. Gray, an excellent judge, "in the main far in advance of them, and in several respects in advance of the Common Law of England at this day."

Thus the original idea of founding a church, a theocracy, in the wilderness, gradually led, contrary to the expectations of its authors, to the establishment of a political community there, so that their institutions by degrees were secularized. Population increased rapidly, agriculture flourished, trade was extended, and all the elements of a body politic having thus come into existence, its regular organization followed as a matter of course. The ministers and the more zealous members of the church contended resolutely for a long time against this change in the fundamental idea of their settlement; but they could not resist the natural course of events and the inevitable consequences of the growth and prosperity of their colony. Finally, the establishment of the new charter for Massachusetts in 1690, took away the corner stone of the old system, by extending the right of suffrage and other privileges of freemen to those who were not members of any church. After that epoch, the Puritan element in our political institutions rapidly dwindled away, the last blow given to it being

the repeal, some fifteen or twenty years since, of that article in the Bill of Rights which required every inhabitant to contribute, according to his means, for the support of religious worship, but left him the power to pay his tax to whatever denomination he might select. Even the character of our population is fast losing all traces of its Puritan origin, the tide of immigration having mingled so many other elements with it that its primitive characteristics have almost wholly disappeared.

The colony in Connecticut did not grow so rapidly as that in Massachusetts, from which it was an offset, and in its history we trace very clearly, and for a longer time, those features which were impressed upon it by the original idea of the Puritan settlements in New England. In its early stages, the proceedings of the magistrates and the people are to be judged with reference to the smallness of their numbers, the peculiarity and the dangers of their situation, and their original intention to found a church rather than a state. Afterwards, when the political element came to be interfused with the ecclesiastical, they may be viewed as statesmen legislating for a nearly independent colony. The first emigrants from Massachusetts to Connecticut were not a merely casual association of persons united only by their desire to remove to another locality; the *churches* of three principal towns in the infant colony, Watertown, Dorchester, and Newtown, afterwards Cambridge, determined to remove in a body, carrying their pastors along with them. They named the towns which they founded in the valley of the Connecticut after those which they had left on the borders of the Bay; and it was not till the winter of 1636-37, that their magistrates ordered the name of Newtown to be changed to Hartford, that of Watertown to Wethersfield, and that of Dorchester to Windsor. Mr. Hooker, the pastor of the church at Newtown, and a man distinguished for learning and ability, was the leader of the movement. What motive he and his people had for removal, it is difficult to conjecture. In their petition to the General Court for leave to remove, they alleged that they were straitened for want of room, and had not accommodations for their cattle, — a plea the justice of which, in 1635, we cannot readily admit. Malthus himself would hardly have considered the population of Massachusetts at that period as redundant. Jealousy of Mr.

Cotton, whose influence was then all powerful with the magistrates and the people, has been assigned as a probable cause why Hooker, who was ambitious in his way, should desire to establish a new colony, where he might be the master spirit. But this seems improbable; and we prefer to believe, that the soil round Boston being naturally hard and sterile, the people were really very poor, and found it hard to support themselves and their ministers; they had heard that the meadows on the Connecticut were rich and fertile, and they preferred to brave the perils of a journey thither through the wilderness, and to reside where they would be more exposed to the hostilities of the Indians, so that they might obtain from the ground a plentiful subsistence. We know that the excellent Mr. Shepherd, Hooker's successor, at Newtown or Cambridge, was afterwards straitened for his salary and for food, and entertained thoughts at times of removing to Metabesick, afterwards Middletown, in Connecticut.

Circumstances favored their project of removal. In the same year in which their journey was to take place, John Winthrop, the younger, a person of rare accomplishments and merits, arrived from England with a commission from Lord Say and Seal and others, empowering him to erect a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut, for which purpose he was furnished with men, ammunition, and £2,000 in money. Thus, the emigrant churches were sure of having a stronghold in the vicinity, to which they might fly for refuge, and the companionship of one who rivalled his father, the excellent Governor of Massachusetts, in all noble qualities. So they plucked up courage, and went their way about the middle of October, 1635, through the trackless wilderness, a party of about sixty men, women, and children, driving their cattle and swine before them "through swamps and rivers, over mountains and rough ground," till they reached their place of destination. Winter closed in upon them before they had obtained full shelter in their new abode, and famine stared them in the face before the spring opened. But they obtained a small supply of corn by traffic with the Indians, and thus contrived to sustain life till their first harvest came round, which secured them from hunger for a long time.

Their book of Records opens with the proceedings of their magistrates, eight persons who had been commissioned by

Massachusetts for the temporary government of the new colony, at a court held at Newtown, (Hartford,) on the 26th of April, 1636, the first spring after their arrival. At this first session, an order was passed forbidding any person to "trade with the natives or Indians any piece or pistol or gun or powder or shot, under such heaieve penalty as uppon such misdemeaunour the Corte shall thinke meete." As Mr. Winthrop was the Ulysses of the infant settlement, so stout Capt. John Mason was its Achilles; and manfully did he play the part which Capt. Standish acted farther east. An order was passed on the 6th of March, 1637, less than three months before the famous expedition against the Pequods, which throws some light on the probable causes of Indian hostilities, though it also indicates the honorable and prudent conduct of the magistrates, who strove to avoid all causes of collision.

"It is ordered that noe Commissioners or other person shall binde, imprison or restraine, correct or whipp any Indian or Indians whatsoever in his owne case or in the case of any other, nor giue them any menacing or threatning speeches, exc[ept] it be in case any Indian or Indians shall assault or affront their person or persons, or shall finde them either wasting, killing or spoiling any of their goodes or estate, and he or they shall finde them soe doing, and in that case, if they refuse to come before a magistrate, they may force them to goe and binde them if they refuse. But if any iniurie or trespasse be offered or done by any Indian or Indians or their dogges, he or they are to complaine to some magistrate or magistrates, provided alwaies that any twoe magistrats together may vpon any speciall occasion send for any Indian or Indians to come before them, and if they see cause to restraine or imprison him or them, and in case of refusall or contumacy or other extraordinary misdemeanor or occasion, to send force to apprehend or take him or them if they see cause."

It was also ordered "that there shall be fiftie Costlets provided in the plantations," which were to be inspected by a military officer, "and if he disallowe them as insufficient, the towns are to provide better." These corselets may have been of metal, in which case our forefathers fought "with harness to their backs." Five years later, however, we find an order which shows that they had invented or borrowed a new fashion of armor, afterwards adopted by many good Protestants in London during the agitation caused by the supposed Popish Plot. The grim Puritans must have cut a whimsical figure

when clad in these bulky, wadded coats, which were proof against arrows, if not bullets.

"October 4th, 1642. It is ordered, there shall be 90 coats provided within these Plantations, within tenn dayes, basted with cotton wooll and made defensive against Indian arrows; Hartford 40, Wyndsor 30, Wethersfield 20."

Going back to the period præceding the extermination of the Pequods, we find other orders indicating the people's opinion of the extremity of their danger, and the man on whom they most depended for defence.

"It is ordered that Captaine Mason shal be a publique military officer of the plantations of Connecicot, and shall traine the military men thereof in each plantations according to the dayes appointed, and shall have 40*l.* per annum, to be paid ouie of the Treasury quarterly, the pay to beginne from the day of the date hereof. This order to stand in force for a yeere and vntill the generall Courte take other order to the contrary."

As the military men were to be trained ten days in every year, and every person above the age of sixteen years was made liable to bear arms, we see in these institutions a very respectable origin for our present, or late, militia system. All commissioners and church officers, however, were exempted from this service, not only during their term of office, but ever afterwards. But holy days and church meetings were not considered free from danger, as appears from two subsequent ordinances, which remind one of Cromwell's famous exhortation to his soldiers, "to trust in the Lord, but mind and keep their powder dry."

It is Ordered, that there shall be a gard of 40 men to come compleate in their Arms to the meeting euery Sabbath and lecture day, in euery Towne within these libertyes vppon the Riuer.

To preuent or withstand such sudden assaults as may be made by Indeans vppon the Sabboth or lecture dayes, It is Ordered, that one person in euery seuerall howse wherein is any soudear or souldears, shall bring* a muskett, pystoll or some peece, with powder and shott to ech meeting, excepte some on Magistrate dispense with any on, and appoynt some other to supply his roome.

These extracts show that the colonists had a full sense of the imminent peril of their situation, being but a handful in number, with no help near at hand, and surrounded by powerful tribes of the irritable natives, whom all their prudence

could not conciliate, nor their watchfulness disarm or deter. Events proved that their apprehensions were not unfounded. On the 16th of April, 1637, a large party of Pequods and other Indians laid an ambush against the people at Wethersfield, while they were at work in the fields, and killed seven men, besides a woman and child, and led off two young maidens as captives. Other outrages of less note had preceded this massacre, so as to convince the colonists that the time had now come to take decisive measures against the natives, if they were not prepared to give up their new settlements, and seek refuge in Massachusetts. Captain Mason was sent out with a band, which, small as it was, probably embraced full half of the fighting men in the Colony, only enough being left behind to guard their homes ; and in two successive expeditions, he utterly exterminated the Pequot nation, the few who survived taking refuge with, and being adopted into other tribes.

This was a stern blow resolutely struck by grave and pious men, who deemed that they fought only in self-defence, their own lives, with those of their wives and children, being at stake. In spite of its awful severity, in spite of the horrors of that fearful night when they took the Pequot fort by storm, and burned about six hundred poor savages in their own wigwams, shooting down those who attempted to escape, it is difficult to deny the justice of the colonists' plea, that the measure was not only necessary, but even merciful. It saved both parties from the atrocities of a protracted war against all the Indian tribes east of the Connecticut. The fidelity of the Mohegans and the Narragansetts was already wavering, owing to the fears which these tribes entertained of the warlike Pequods. The latter commenced hostilities with the whites, notwithstanding the urgent endeavors of the colonists to conciliate them ; and they perpetrated a series of outrages which rendered it absolutely necessary to refer the whole matter to the dread arbitrament of war. The whites had no option but to adopt this course, or to allow themselves to be destroyed in detail, the Indians constantly forming ambushes against them as they were at work in the fields, or aiming to destroy a whole village at one fell swoop. Philip's war, which broke out some forty years afterwards, showed that the savages were not foes to be despised ; and but for the vigorous and

decisive measures adopted by the Connecticut people, such a war would surely have been kindled before the settlement at Hartford was six years old ; and at that early day, it would probably have ended in the entire destruction of the New England Colonies. But the extermination of the Pequods struck the natives with a panic, which lasted for nearly half a century, during which time the white settlements became so strong, that they were able, when the crisis came, to meet and vanquish the whole Indian confederacy. Let those who waste sentimental regret on the fate of this fierce tribe of savages, picture to themselves, if they can, the few and feeble Christian towns, dotted along, like patches of sunlight in the primeval and unbroken forest, numbering altogether at this time — we refer to Connecticut only — probably not more than four hundred inhabitants, and waiting daily in agonized apprehension to hear the whoop of their savage foes, who were counted by thousands, from the wilderness that skirted their dwellings, — let them imagine all this, and then censure the settlers as severely as their consciences will permit for striking the heavy and decisive blow which ensured peace and security to them and their families for forty years.

We will now see, if our readers should not consider the transition too violent, what other grave matters occupied the attention of the magistrates of these Puritan settlements, either before, or shortly after the danger from the Indians was dispelled. The peril did not unnerve them, or make them forgetful of the strictness of life and conversation which the Gospel of Christ seemed to them to require. February 8th, 1640, (N. S. 1641,) “Mr. Webster and Mr. Phelps are desired to consult with the Elders of both Plantations to prepare instructions against the next General Court for the punishing of the sin of lying, which begins to be practised by many persons in this commonwealth.” When the General Court held its session in the following September, it empowered the Particular Court, consisting of the six magistrates and a jury, to punish any person who should be accused and found guilty of this vice “either by fyne or bodily correction, according as they shall judge the nature of the fault to require.” At the April and June sessions of the same year, the following ordinances were passed : —

“Notwithstanding the late Order conserneing the restraynt of

excesse in apparrell, yet diuers persons of seuerall ranks are obsearued still to excede therein : It is therefore Ordered that the Constables of euery Town within these libertyes, shall obsearue and take notice of any particuler person or persons within their seuerall lymitts, and all such as they judge to excede their condition and ranks therein, they shall present and warne to appeare at the particuler Courte ; as also the said Constables are to present to the said Courte all such persons who sell their comodities at excessive rates ; And the said Courte hath power to censure any disorder in the particulars before mentioned."

" Forasmuch as the Court haueing lately declared their apprehensions to the Country conserneing the excesse in wages amongst all sort of Artificers and workemen, hopeing thereby men would haue bine a law vnto themselues, but finding little reformation therein, The said Court hath therefore Ordered, that sufficient able Carpenters, Plowwrits, Wheelewrits, Masons, Joyners, Smithes and Coopers, shall not take aboue 20*d.* for a dayes worke from the xth of March to the xith of October, nor aboue 18*d.* a day for the other parte of the yeare, and to worke xi howers in the day the sumer tyme, besides that which is spent in eatinge or sleeping, and ix howers in the wynter : also, mowers, for the tyme of mowing, shall not take aboue 20*d.* for a dayes worke."

The following order, which is of a much earlier date, having been passed on the 21st of February, 1637, may be regarded as a direct encouragement of marriage, though its probable object was the preservation of good morals, and to prevent idle and vicious persons from being harbored temporarily in this pious community.

" It is ordered that noe yonge man that is neith^r married nor hath any servaunte, & be noe publicke officer, shall keepe howse by himself, without consent of the Towne where he liues first had, vnder paine of 20*s.* per weeke.

" It is ordered that noe Master of a Family shall giue habitacon or interteinment to any yonge man to sojourne in his family, but by the allowance of the inhabitants of the saide Towne where he dwelles vnder the like penalty of 20*s.* per weeke."

The next two orders that we shall extract are dated respectively on the 5th of July, 1643, and the 5th of March, 1644, the first being an order of the General, and the second of the Particular Court.

" Whereas, the prosperity and well being of Comon weles doth much depend vppon the well gouernment and ordering of particuler

Families, wch in an ordinary way cannot be expected where the rules of God are neglected in laying the foundation of a family state ; For the preuention therefore of such evels and inconueniences, wch by experience are found not only to be creeping in but practised by some in that kynd, It is Ordered, that no person whatsover, male or female, not being at his or her owne dispose, that remayneth vnder the gouernment of parents, masters or guardians or such like, shall either make, or giue entertaynement to any motion or sute in way of mariage, without the knowledge and consent of those they stand in such relation to, vnder the seuerer censure of the Courte, in case of delinquency not attending this order ; nor shall any third person or persons intermeddle in making any motion to any such without the knowledge and consent of those vnder whose gouernment they are, vnder the same penalty."

"Walter Gray, for his misdemeanor in laboring to inueagle the affections of Mr. Hooekers mayde, is to be publicly corrected the next lecture day."

Three years afterwards, "the frequente taking Tobacco" was brought to the consideration of these grave magistrates, as a vicious practice which it was desirable to restrain. The good men appear to have been sorely puzzled with this matter, probably because some of their own number had found that a moderate use of the good "creature called Tobacco" was very pleasant and comfortable, and, if not exactly an innocent habit, it was at any rate a very difficult one to abandon. At the same time, upon their strict principles, it would not do to pass over altogether the indulgence of a useless luxury, which was probably offensive to many among them. Accordingly they compromised the matter, and sought to restrain within due limits a practice which they were not able to prohibit entirely, and which was not directly forbidden in Scripture. In a long order, very elaborately drawn up, all minors, and all other persons not already addicted to the noxious weed, were forbidden to use it, except under a physician's certificate that it would be useful to him, and a special license from the Court. In order that the persons thus excepted might not abuse the indulgence, it was further provided, that no one should "take any Tobacco publicly in the street, nor shall any take it in the fyelds or woods, unless when they be on their travill or joyrny at least 10 myles, or at the ordinary tyme of repast commonly called dynner, or if it be not

then taken, yet not above once in the day at most, and then not in company with any other." Bravo! Let the degenerate legislators of modern times, who spend three months in discussing an abstraction, and then adjourn without coming to any conclusion respecting it, take a lesson in cautious, minute, and practical law-making from our Puritan forefathers.

We have given instances enough to illustrate the peculiar patriarchal character of the early legislation of Connecticut. The unthinking may find it only a pleasant butt for ridicule, and an occasion for repeating some venerable joke about the "Blue Laws." The judicious may deem it necessary to look a little more closely into the matter, and to ask what was the obvious intention of these laws, and to what sort of a community were they considered to be applicable. That such legislation would be absurd for an organized state in modern times, or for a colony as colonies are now constituted, is a remark which is perfectly just, but not at all to the purpose. It is more relevant to observe, that every head of a large and well ordered family, even in our own day, has frequent occasion to give even more minute injunctions than these in relation to matters quite as petty. He may not give them in a manner quite as formal and precise; he may not have them all recorded in a book, with the precise date on which they were enacted. He may not even, if he be kind and judicious, find it necessary ever to utter any thing in the words of command, the silent indications of his opinion and will, and the spirit of obedience that prompts the whole family, being enough to effect the objects that he desires. But his legislation, though tacit, is none the less decisive and minute, since all these things are ordered with some reference to his will, or to principles which are known to be approved or suffered by him. Now, if a separate community is formed on the plan of a family, as the Shaker community in our own day is actually formed, all those who belong to it being constituted its members either by birth within its fold, or by their own choice and the permission of the preëxisting members, then its laws may properly be made like family laws, — just as searching, minute, and precise, as the principles of the community may require; and their particular and inquisitorial character alone would afford no just cause for reprobation or ridicule. Still more, if its laws are framed in a truly devout spirit, with the

intention of yielding a more perfect obedience to the commands of God than the Christian world generally renders, and of practising austere self-denial with a view to this end, then, however rigid and particular, and even *because* they are rigid and particular, they deserve unmingled approbation and respect.

The Connecticut Colony, during the period the legislation of which we have been reviewing, did not reckon as many members as now constitute the united Shaker communities of New England, or as were often enrolled in a single Highland clan, which was properly the expansion of but one family. It was constituted on true separatist principles, on the idea of building up a peculiar people, zealous of good works ; it was constituted in the hope of preserving a church of Christ free from the contamination of the world. In the preamble to the constitution which the colonists adopted for themselves as early as 1639, they declare that they “doe, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adioyned to us att any tyme hereafter, enter into Combination and Confederation together, to mayntayne and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus which we now professe, as also the discipline of the Churches, which, according to the truth of the said gospell is now practised among us ; as also in our Civell Affaires to be guided according to such Lawes, Rules, Orders,” &c.

In such a purpose, surely, and in the means that were adopted to carry it out, when these means are judged with reference to the purpose, the times, the numbers and peculiar situation, of the colonists, there is nothing that is fairly obnoxious to censure or ridicule, but much that deserves the highest eulogy. It is our peculiar local boast — the fact is the foundation of our pride of ancestry — that New England was not colonized from the same motives which sent Englishmen to Hindostan, convicts to Australia, slave hunters to the African coast, or gold hunters to California. Then the laws and internal constitution of the New England colonies are not to be judged on principles applicable to these later settlements ; the wisdom of either party is foolishness to the other. The Puritans came not hither to found an empire ; they had no expectation even of creating a republic ; they purposed to remain loyal subjects to the British crown. But they removed to the

wilderness that they might be free to worship God after their own fashion, and to remain out of sight and hearing of those who either did not worship at all, or who followed after prelates and presbyters. They were not restless fanatics, with hot heads, hasty tempers, and feeble intellects; they showed a cool and sound judgment in their ordinary concerns, an invincible determination, and a knightly courage. The Spaniards under Cortez and Pizarro did not manifest more bravery in slaying the Mexicans and Peruvians for the sake of their gold than these men showed in fighting the Pequods for the glory of God and for the safety of His church. After their victory, they immediately began to legislate for their recent foes, — to forbid the selling of strong liquors to them, to preserve their grounds from trespass, and to send missionaries to declare unto them the glad tidings of the gospel of peace. The opinions, fashions, and laws of the Puritan colonists have passed away almost as completely as the Puritans themselves. But few stones remain, with a decipherable inscription, to mark the spots where they are buried. But a monument exists to them in the hearts of their descendants; and the admiration and respect which are due to their motives and characters are renewed and strengthened by the publication of every faithful record of their doings. •

ART. III. — 1. *Introduction to Meteorology.* By DAVID PURDIE THOMPSON, M. D., Grad. Univ. Edin. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1849. 8vo.

2. *A Complete Course of Meteorology.* By L. F. KAEMPTZ, Professor of Physics at the University of Halle. *With Notes*, by CH. MARTINS, Supernumerary Professor of Natural History to the Faculty of Medicine, Paris; *and an Appendix, containing the Graphic Representation of the Numerical Tables.* By L. LALANNE, Civil Engineer. *Translated, with Notes and Additions*, by C. V. WALKER, of the Electrical Society. Illustrated with 15 Plates. London: Hippolite Baillière. 1845.

ALTHOUGH the claim of meteorology to be admitted to the rank of an exact and well-digested science is recent, still

there has never, probably, been a period or a country in which the aqueous, igneous, and electrical meteors of the air, both in their ordinary and in their more startling phases, have not been observed by curious and thoughtful men : and in which these observations have not led, if not to the discovery of laws describing the atmospheric relations of our planet to light, heat, or electricity, at least to speculations upon the phenomena observed and prognostications from them. These atmospheric changes, conducted by the agency of the various physical forces which play their part at the earth's surface, are well calculated to arrest the attention of an intellectual race, none the less in their orderly diurnal, monthly, and yearly march than in their grand revolutionary strides ; more than any other natural phenomena, they come directly home to the comfort and spirits and employment of every man, touching his property, affecting his safety, altering his plans for the day ; and by familiarity, unlike most other things, they lose nothing of their interest or their mystery.

The writings of the more civilized nations of antiquity abound in observations, allusions, and deductions relating to meteorology ; and travellers, it is asserted, visit no people where an effort to construct this difficult science is not apparent. To know the development that was attained, and the difficulties which arrested all further progress, among the ancients, we must go to the most scientific writers of the most cultivated nations, — to Aristotle among the Greeks, and Pliny among the Romans. Aristotle's treatise "On Meteors" is more voluminous than most English works on meteorology at the present day. Winds, rains, snow, hail, dew, frost, rainbows, halos, thunder and lightning, if not satisfactorily explained, are at least carefully and accurately described. Take the following passage from Book III., Chap. II. on the halo and rainbow.

" But, in the first place, it is necessary to assume the properties and the accidents pertaining to each of them. Of the halo, therefore, the whole circle is frequently seen, and is formed about the sun and moon, and the most splendid of the stars. And farther still, it is no less seen by night than by day, and about noon than in the afternoon ; but it is less seen in the morning and about sunset. Of the rainbow, however, there is never a complete circle, nor any section greater than that of a semi-circle ; and when the

sun sets and rises, the rainbow is the greatest arch of the smallest circle; but when he is more elevated, it is a less arch of a greater circle. After the autumnal equinox, also, in the shorter days, it exists every hour of the day, but in summer, it does not exist about noon. Nor are there more than two rainbows at the same time. But of these, each is of a triple color, and they have the same colors and are equal to each other in number. The colors, however, which are in the exterior rainbow, are more obscure, and have a contrary position. For the inward rainbow has its first periphery, which is the greatest, of a light red color; but the exterior has its smallest periphery, but which is nearest to this, and analogous to the others, of this color. These colors, too, are nearly alone these which painters are unable to make. For they mingle some of these colors; but they cannot by mingling produce the light red, the green, and violet color of the rainbow. But the color which is between the light red and the green is frequently seen to be yellow."

Great are the physical convulsions which have agitated this planet; manifold are the permutations through which the same identical material has passed. As the great prince of philosophers himself knew and reported, rivers are generated in one place and fail in another; "where there was land, sea is produced; and where there is now sea, there will again be land." According to Ammonius, the land has become sea for five stadia about Heraclea and Canopus, as is evident from habitations which still remain in the middle sea, and which resemble islands. The laws of nature, however, have survived all these vicissitudes of matter, and still abide the invariable expression of the unalterable wisdom of the Creator. The rainbow which hung over Greece more than two thousand years ago, and which Aristotle has so faithfully portrayed, is no other than the rainbow of the last summer in our own New England. The impression of this contrast between the brevity of individual life and experience, and the long periods allotted to the plan of nature, is deepened by the following passage from Aristotle, in which he refers to a still older antiquity, just as we refer to the Greeks and Romans.

"And the rainbow, indeed, is formed in the day; but in the night, as the ancients fancied, it is not formed from the moon. They were of this opinion, however, because the rainbow is rarely seen in the night, and of this they were ignorant. For it is produced in the night, but seldom. But the reason is, that in dark-

ness colors are concealed, and it is necessary that there should be a coincidence of many other particulars, and that all these should take place in one day of the month. For it must necessarily happen in the full moon, and then when the moon is either rising or setting. . Hence we have only known it to happen twice in the last fifty years."

Many other passages might be quoted to show not only the permanency of the forces of nature, but the fidelity with which they were studied by some of the classical writers. The conversion of water into vapor under the impulse of the solar rays, and its relapse into the liquid state when the heat deserted it, in some one of the various forms of rain, snow, hail, dew, or frost; the division of the winds into dry and moist; the ominous clatter that precedes a hail-storm, and the size and shape of hail-stones; the seasons of the year and the geographical latitudes in which hail abounds, — all these facts are clearly painted from life, and the processes which they involve are interpreted as intelligibly as could be expected at a time when such material links in the chain of cause and effect as the doctrine of latent heat, and the electrical and magnetic forces, were wholly unknown. Aristotle, speaking of lightning, says it "is produced after the percussion, and posterior to the thunder; though it appears to be prior to it, because the sight apprehends its object prior to the hearing. This is evident from the rowing of three-ranked galleys; for when the sailors again elevate their oars, the first sound of the rowing reaches our ears."

So far as we can judge from Pliny's *Natural History*, the only work which has reached us from the vast materials collected by that laborious and learned compiler, no important additions had been made in his day to the scientific treasures which Greece had poured, with the rest of her civilization, into the Roman empire. Some of his chapters, particularly that on the rainbow, bear internal marks of the source from which they were drawn. In the writings of this first martyr of science, as he has been called, we notice, as in Aristotle, frequent passages which exhibit close and accurate observation. Speaking of thunder and lightning, Pliny says: — "Hereupon it is that every thing is shaken and blasted ere it be smitten: neither is any man stricken who either saw the lightning before, or heard the thunder clap." In another place, Pliny describes

in graphic language the water-spout. "There riseth also upon the sea a dark mist, resembling a monstrous beast, and this is ever a terrible cloud to sailors. Another, likewise called a column or pillar, when the humor and water engendered are so thick and stiff congealed, that it standeth compact of itself. Of the same sort, also, is that cloud which draweth water to it, as it were into a long pipe." In this early encyclopedia of science, superstition and a love of the marvellous have displaced in some degree the severity and dignity which stamp the pages of Aristotle. While some of the Greek philosophers were ashamed of contributing to that science which was simply useful to their fellow men, Pliny is not too proud to say, "Therefore, seeing there be so many thousand poor sailors that hazard themselves on the seas, I will treat of the winds more curiously and exquisitely than perhaps beseems the present work that is begun." How much the poor sailors profited by this utilitarian spirit may be inferred from the advice which Pliny gives them for escaping whirl-pulls or typhoons, namely, to "cast vinegar out against them as they came, which is of nature most cold." Other facts of the same spurious character, and doubtful maxims built upon them, Pliny allows to have a place in his *Natural History*. We feel the more lenient towards such folly when we remember that some of these traditions were not outgrown even by our own admired Franklin, and by the scientific progress of which he was the exponent. Pliny describes that sort of lightning which empties casks of their contents without disturbing the hoops, sides, or heads. "Gold, copper, and silver money is melted in the bags, and yet the very bags no whit scorched, no, nor the wax of the seal scorched and defaced, or put out of order. Martia, a noble lady of Rome, being great with child, was struck with lightning, the child she went withal was killed within her, and she, without any harm at all, lived still."

But the most patient observation, without experiments, without delicate instruments, without an intimate knowledge of the principles of all the physical sciences, and without a clear conception of the fundamental laws of equilibrium and motion, could carry men no further than to the natural history of the weather. Physical facts were known to the ancients, and the knowledge was applied to the practical pursuits of life ;

but most of the great physical laws were either wholly unknown, or imperfectly apprehended. "If," says Aristotle, "any one make water very salt by mingling salt with it, eggs will swim in it, though they are full." Thus, ships which are full freighted at sea will be too heavily laden when they enter the fresh water of a river. The infirmity of ancient science appears most clearly in the conception which it had gained of mechanical principles, especially of the laws of dynamics. Aristotle denied that the wind was air in motion; he taught that the same thing which on the earth is wind, in the earth is an earthquake, and in the clouds is thunder. So far is Pliny from having a just conception of the atmosphere as a highly elastic fluid, pressing on all sides, ready instantly to leap into a new equilibrium when it is disturbed, that he discusses seriously the question how many different winds there may be, and decides in favor of eight, two for each quarter of the heaven. If the laws of mechanics had not yet been mastered in their application to simple attractive and repulsive forces, acting on a wide and open theatre, what progress could be expected in the mechanical development of those delicate forces, which are not only invisible themselves, as all other forces are, whether spiritual or physical, but which in our human conceptions of them seem allied to spiritual forces; inasmuch as the amplitudes of the motions which they cause are so small, and the material medium through which they operate is so subtle, as to escape the direct grasp of the human senses, even when exalted by the wonderful contrivances of art? What wonder, therefore, that Aristotle, Epicurus, and Lucretius, when they considered the eye and the incessant intercourse which it holds, by means of the attenuated lines of light, with the whole visible creation, in the earth and in the skies, the source of so much joy to the lowest orders of the animal kingdom, the instrument of such profound science to man himself, should have summoned to their aid the conception, not of radiations proceeding directly or by reflection from the visible object, and painting its picture on the prepared retina, but of emanations going forth from the eye to seize upon its object; and should have spoken of the reflection of the sight as we now speak of the reflection of rays of light.

The tedious centuries which bridge over the long interval

between the decay of ancient science and the revival of modern science gave no new insight into meteorology, nor added much to its storehouse of facts. During this dismal period, astronomy was subservient to astrology, chemistry to alchemy, and meteorology to the art of prognostication. The reappearance of meteorology, clothed in the simple garb of modest science, is but of yesterday. While astronomy is pursuing her luminous path through the skies with the vigor of a giant, while the chemical and physical sciences have been made transparent by the discovery of harmonious laws, while natural history is busy collecting, recording, and classifying, seeking and finding the living even among the dead, meteorology is yet in its infancy, an infancy as abundant in weakness as it is in promise. Meteorology has not fallen behind the other sciences from neglect or from want of zeal, or numbers even, on the part of its cultivators; it occupies this position from a physical necessity, and deserves reproach for it no more than the rear-guard of an army for standing in its lot. Meteorology must follow behind the physical sciences; it can never lead them.

"The number of observations," says Kaempts, "on the modifications of the atmosphere is doubtless considerable; but they are, at the same time *observations*, in the most restricted sense of that word. We observe the phenomenon presented to us, but we cannot modify and vary it at pleasure; we cannot even reproduce it at will. In a word, we cannot have recourse to *experiment*. Our means and our powers are much too limited to give us the power of producing the least changes in the atmosphere. We are hence compelled to register facts; and, as W. Herchell has well observed, we resemble a man who hears now and then a few fragments of a long history, related at distant intervals by a prosy and unmethodical narrator. In recalling to mind what has gone before, he may occasionally connect past with present events; but a host of circumstances omitted or forgotten, and the want of connection, prevent his obtaining possession of the entire story. Were we allowed to interrupt the narrator, and ask him to explain the apparent contradictions, or to clear up any doubts on obscure points, then might we hope to arrive at a general view. The questions that we would address to nature are the very experiments of which we are now deprived in the science of atmospheric modifications."

This is a great embarrassment to meteorology, but it is not

the greatest. Otherwise astronomy, now the foremost among the sciences, would fall behind them all. We cannot tamper with the celestial mechanism; we can only observe the fixed stars and the roaming planets, through vast distances made easy to the telescope; and of the most eccentric, as the comets, we only catch a glimpse now and then. Still, geometry follows the absentee of a century with infallible precision, and, when it returns, assigns the place and the time with an accuracy which astonishes the world.

Meteorology, in its highest sense, is not a department of natural history, nor a single physical science; but the sum and substance of all the physical sciences. It is the application of all the physical sciences to a grand organic problem, — to the problem of life and growth; not indeed to the highest form of life, to spiritual life, nor to that lower kind of life which we recognize in the movements of animals, but to the problem of life in its most material, most tangible, most simple exhibition; to the life and growth which are controlled by well known physical and chemical forces, and are independent of those peculiar vital forces, which are superadded to mere physical forces when we ascend to the higher forms of life. Each planet of the solar system is a unit, an indivisible, organized unit. If a crystal is broken to pieces, each fragment, however small, retains in perfection the crystalline form and beauty, and all the curious molecular machinery which enables it to polarize the sunbeam, and extract its beautiful colors. But the rending of a planet is like the cutting off a hand or leg, or otherwise maiming the animal frame. A fanciful hypothesis was once promulgated by authority which is not likely to be soon discarded from our text books; namely, that a considerable planet revolved between Mars and Jupiter, which, by some mishap, was shattered in pieces, and that the larger fragments, outcasts from the zodiac, are occasionally discovered as telescopic planets. Supposing this theory to be hampered by no mechanical impossibility; supposing that the motions of the eight small planets could be traced back by the geometer to that remarkable conjunction when they were all together ready to pursue a common orbit, if the force which scattered them is withdrawn, what reason is there to believe that the most substantial of these bodies, four of which have by their recent discovery given as brilliant a close to the present half century,

as the other four had done to its commencement, is gifted in all respects as the earth or any other undisturbed planet; or is capable of furnishing a fit home for the organized creation without being subjected again to that long process of heating and cooling by which the various chemical and physical forces are set free in proper proportions, and the planet is tempered to the wants of the beings which are to live upon it. When we speak of each planet as an organized unit, moulded by time and not struck out at a blow, deriving its most valuable qualities from the relations of its parts and not from the inseparable properties of its atoms, it will not be understood that all change and interchange of these parts is excluded. Such stagnation is the opposite of life and growth. As the material of the human body is gradually renewed every few years, so the particles of the earth exchange places with one another; the solid rock crumbles, is washed down and converted into sediment, while the secretions of zoöphytes are tracing the foundations of islands, if not of continents. The view we have presented excludes none of those changes called growth, but only such as amount to a total dismemberment.

Where now, we ask, is the most vital part of this organized planet, the earth; where are its most precious functions; where are the breathing pores and arteries through which its circulations are conducted; where is the great heart which animates it, unless in the fluid water and air, and the motions which belong to them? Though the ocean is not so deep relatively as the dew upon the pyramid, though the atmosphere covers the earth more slightly than the thinnest veil of muslin wraps some statue of angelic size, what a desert, what a decayed body, would the earth become, if the atmosphere were stripped off and the ocean were drained? Where would be its animal and vegetable life? Or if an organization is possible in which the presence of oxygen is not required, where would be the physical life of the earth itself? Where would be the winds, and the clouds, the dew, the frost, the snow, and the rain? Where the rainbow, the aurora, and the morning and evening glories? How sombre and dead would even the sun, moon, and stars appear, if their light was not mellowed and refined by its passage through the atmosphere? How silent and cheerless, how deaf and dumb, would the whole earth be, how useless the voice and the ear, if the hum of insects, the song

of birds, and the peerless tones of the human voice died instantly on the spot where they originated, instead of, being caught up by the omnipresent air, and carried in a thousand directions to charm the senses and delight the hearts of all living things? Without the atmosphere, in what new and extraordinary way would an equalization be effected between the superfluous heat of the equator and the excessive cold of polar regions? How would the carbonic acid be prevented from gaining a dangerous ascendancy at the north during the long winter, if it were not exchanged, through the medium of the atmosphere, with the superabundant oxygen generated at the equator by its luxurious vegetation?

The ancients, having clearer conceptions of animal forces and motion than of such as were mechanical, assigned to each planet a tutelar divinity, by which all its motions were produced. The bold and imaginative Kepler, cramped by the same poverty of mechanical ideas, made the planets themselves real animals, — huge monsters swimming in space, and puffing, sweating, and spouting, and thus creating volcanoes, tempests, and earthquakes. Modern astronomy has dispensed with all tutelary divinities except the single law of gravitation; and this law, acting conjointly with the chemical and physical laws, has superseded Kepler's personification of the meteorological phenomena. When we speak of the earth, particularly in its atmospheric relations, as organized, we do not mean that it resembles man or any other animal, nor do we mean that it is animated by the presence of all those living things which find their home and sustenance upon it. We refer to the development, growth, complexity of relations, and reciprocity of services between its different parts under the agency of purely material forces, which remind us of the higher forms of life in which the chemical and physical forces are subordinate to vital and spiritual influences; of which we know little except their reality and power. With this caution, let science delight to study the growth of milky ways, of systems and individual planets. Without compromising her severity she may fancy the solid mountains to be the backbone of the earth, as the atmosphere is the vital part, the heart of the organized mass, whose pulsations animate the whole. Though, as we have said, the atmosphere comprises but an insignificant fraction of the whole material of the planet, still the bulk and weight even

of the atmosphere are vast beyond comparison with any thing else we commonly call an animal ; and the forces concealed in it have no common unit with those which belong to humbler organizations. Is not the atmosphere the depository of those grand forces of heat and electricity, in their latent form, a single spark of which is sufficient to illuminate the eye and animate the frame of the largest monsters that live upon the earth ? Though the atmosphere is thinner relatively than the film of varnish upon a common globe, its collected weight equals five thousand millions of millions of tons. Equally disproportioned are the rapid circulations in an animal, which are completed once in every few minutes, to the vast currents of wind and moisture which encircle the earth from the equator to the poles, and from the poles back again to the equator. The moon performs a whole revolution round the earth, while a single drop is flowing from the head waters of the Ganges down the eighteen hundred miles which separate it from the ocean. The earth, therefore, may go round in its large orbit, before a drop of water shall have made the tour of our planet from the spot in the ocean whence it ascended in mist or vapor back to the same spot again. If the circulation of a single particle occupies so much time, astronomy must be taxed for her largest secular periods to express the secular disturbances of the atmosphere. If, as Lalande has calculated, the conjunction of the six chief planets in the same spot of the heavens will take place only once in seventeen millions of millions of years, what finite mind can comprehend the periodicity of many atmospheric changes ? to what standard reduce the shortest time for ringing all the changes upon the atmospheric elements ? According to Pliny, some ancient astronomers, whose conceptions of the celestial mechanism bear a closer resemblance to an orrery than to the great heaven of heavens, supposed “ that, after the end of every fourth year, not only all winds, but other tempests and constitutions also of the weather, return again to the same course as before.”

Meteorology must instruct us in the physiology of the earth, as geology has chalked out its anatomical structure. When we call the movements of the atmosphere organized, we do not deny that they are mechanical, but declare rather the complexity and delicacy of the machine. These atmospheric movements present to the mind a mechanical problem for which

the celestial mechanics will hardly furnish the alphabet. In its presence, the mind even of a Newton or Laplace seems impotent. What formulæ shall express the changes of the wind, the alternations of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture, of a heavy and a light atmosphere; over which presides not the simple force of gravitation alone, but elasticity, heat, electricity, magnetism, hold a divided empire? Whoever is accustomed to contemplate nature under its physical and mathematical aspect may readily believe, that even the fickle weather stands out before the mind of the Creator in all the simplicity of the conic sections, and conforms to algebraical rules as simple, perhaps, as the celebrated laws of Kepler. Well may science humble herself at this moment of her proudest triumph, to feel how circumscribed her range, how clipped her wings, how dim her vision, how incompetent to grapple with some of the most familiar phenomena of the outward universe. Though meteorology, as at present developed, falls exceedingly short of the high destiny which in imagination we have seen prefigured for it, it has already assumed the dignity of a physical science. This improvement is to be referred, partly, to the greater skill now expended in the construction of meteorological instruments; partly, to systematic and judicious plans of observation; partly, to the superior education and scientific acquirements of those who cultivate the science; but much more, we are persuaded, to the progress which the last fifty years have witnessed in those physical sciences most akin to meteorology. More labor has been expended in meteorology, and to less profit, perhaps, than in all the other physical sciences. Thousands of observations on the thermometer and the barometer have been made by incompetent observers, who brought no thought to their work, but went daily to their instruments from habit, as some men go to the post-office. Good observers have wasted their energies on poor instruments, unworthy of confidence and discreditable to science. Observations, which if reduced and printed, would help to light up the dark ways of meteorology, lie entombed in the manuscripts in which they were originally entered, a dead loss to science. The most liberal endowments, the highest order of artistic skill, the best scientific talent, have been lavished on astronomical observatories, while meteorology has been left to take its chance with amateur observers; as if it were too simple to require patron-

age, or too unimportant to deserve it. Even within the walls of the astronomical observatory, made sacred to science, meteorology was regarded as an interloper which might trespass on the funds of the institution, or distract the zeal of observers. Captain Smyth has given us, in his "Celestial Cycle," the following anecdote in relation to Lalande and the observatory over which he presided. •

In his astronomical *exposé* for 1801, Lalande says: "Well-placed weathercocks are very rare at Paris. There is none at the observatory, though I requested one on being appointed director; and I have thanked, in the name of all observers, citizen Bois, tinman, who, having built a house on the Quai des Augustins, has erected there a lofty and very movable weathercock, with letters indicating the four cardinal points, which will be on a line with a meridian I have marked out on the quay. Astronomers, when they go to the Institute or Board of Longitude, will have an opportunity of seeing conveniently the direction of the wind; and the same advantage will be enjoyed by the inhabitants of that vast quay, of the Louvre, and the surrounding houses." This indifference shown to meteorology by the cultivated, who should have known how to prize it, left it in the hands of the illiterate, and served to perpetuate, if it did not produce, its degradation. It was only a few years since, says Captain Smyth, that the editors of the celebrated *Moore's Almanac* attempted to discard the column containing the moon's supposed influence on the legs, arms, nose, eyes, &c. In order to feel the public, a small edition of only one hundred thousand copies was issued at first. But the omission was detected; the whole edition returned, upon their hands and they were forced to print another, with the favorite column restored.

We rejoice to believe that a better day has already dawned on meteorology; that the practical and scientific importance of the subject is realized; that accomplished observers are demanded for it, who not only know how to observe, but what to observe, and are able, by a happy selection, to take hold of the salient points in the science, and extricate themselves from its overwhelming mass of details. The whole scientific world is impressed with the importance of the subject; and competent observers are devoting their energies exclusively to special departments even of the general science of meteorology. If the

expectations of meteorologists are less ambitious than formerly, they are more likely now to be realized. They are not able, and they do not aspire, to "predict or even approximate to a prediction, whether, on the morrow, the sun shall shine, or the rain fall, or the wind blow, or the lightning descend. The wind bloweth where it listeth; we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth." They aim, first of all, to investigate the most general movements of the atmosphere, eliminating what might dazzle as well as perplex the casual observer, because it is local and accidental. Hence the importance of knowing where to observe, as well as what to observe, and how to observe. A single year of good observations made at a critical place will be more fruitful than fifty years of observation elsewhere. Hence the meteorologist must sometimes leave his home and country, and plant himself in some lonely island, on some height almost inaccessible, in places which have no charm to the heart of man except that of science. Individuals can always be found ready for the sacrifice, if the necessary means are provided. The hardy navigators, who for scientific objects have wintered around the maximum of cold, if not at the geographical poles; geographers, whose labors have expanded into every latitude and longitude; meteorologists, who have pillowed their heads on glaciers, the sides of volcanoes, or upon the eternal snows; astronomers, whom their beloved science has driven into a southern exile, — these men, and the adventures of which they are the heroes, are a sufficient assurance that devoted observers will be ever ready to go where the laurels of true science are to be won.

The general principles of physical science can be investigated anywhere, by the solitary student, if he take care to make himself and keep himself familiar with the labors of others in similar provinces of science. But the application of these general principles to the physical condition of the atmosphere cannot be studied anywhere; neither can they be profitably pursued alone. The two hundred thousand observations made by Dalton, during a period of fifty years, the fifty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty observations taken at Stockholm during an equal term of years, are not available for the settlement of preliminary questions in meteorology, for want of comparative observations in other parts of the earth. The associated action which marks the present movement in behalf

of meteorology is not a new idea ; but it has never till recently been practicable on a large scale. The meteorological society of the Palatinate, which commenced its operations in 1780, under whose auspices, and with whose instruments, a series of observations was made at Cambridge, since published in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*, lasted only ten years. The distracted state of Europe afterwards, the wars and the alienation of feeling which lasted even when peace had returned, prevented a renewal of the effort. At length, a variety of causes coöperated in consummating what had so long been desired. The startling display of meteors in 1833, the return of another epoch of auroral exhibitions, the residence of Herschel at the Cape of Good Hope, the influence of the British Association and other scientific confederacies, the mighty voices of Gauss and Humboldt, heard and respected over the whole world, led to decisive action. The independent observatories that have already been erected for meteorological and magnetic purposes rival in number, and the excellence of their appointments, both of observers and instruments, the astronomical observatories. This would not have been possible in so short a period, had the buildings or the instruments used in meteorology compared in cost with the grand instruments which adorn the astronomical observatory. The latter, also, is not left dependent on a neighbor's weathercock for the direction of the wind, but keeps one eye open on the physical changes in the earth's atmosphere, while the other is lifted to the stars. The situation of the special meteorological observatories has not been abandoned to accident or fancy ; but they have been distributed over the earth, as the light-houses are posted upon the coast, in barren, bleak, and desolate places, clustering, if anywhere, round the spots of greatest danger. The part which America has played in this meteorological movement has been a subordinate one. The British government commenced a meteorological observatory at Toronto in 1840, which has been continued to the present time, and been the centre of considerable operations in British America. Establishments of a similar character have been temporarily sustained by private bounty at several places in the United States.

Among other ways in which the Smithsonian Institution at Washington is laboring for the advancement of science, it has

assumed recently the responsibility of superintending and publishing the meteorological observations made in the United States, and of furnishing instruments for places of eminent value in meteorology. New York has taken the lead among the States in helping forward this science, by providing sets of comparable instruments for thirty stations, carefully selected on two lines of different level, extending through the State. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston invited the attention of the legislature of Massachusetts to the same subject, at their recent session, and recommended the appropriation of \$1200 to furnish instruments for twelve stations in this State, which was promptly granted by the legislature. It is expected that individuals will be induced, here and elsewhere, to undertake the observations, from an interest in the subject more than by the trifling compensation that can be afforded. When we consider the vast geographical extent of the United States, its importance in a meteorological view, as containing an area wide enough to exhibit grand atmospheric movements, the insignificance of the outlay compared with the advantages to be realized or with the cost of most other operations, practical or scientific, it is believed that the other States will not be slow to emulate the example of New York and Massachusetts. The State of its abundance should give a little for the promotion of a desirable scientific enterprise, when men of science, of their penury, contribute all they possess, namely, their time and labor. At the request of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Professor Guyot of Cambridge has prepared, and is on the point of publishing, complete instructions to meteorological observers; and it cannot be too strongly urged on all who, in any part of the country, desire to coöperate for the advancement of meteorology, that they should adopt the instruments and the methods of observing which Mr. Guyot may recommend. A uniform system of meteorological observations, extensively adopted all over this vast country, would be an example to the world, and the best assurance which could be given, that science was prepared to cope with some of the difficult problems relating to the organic structure of our planet.

While so much has been done, within a few years, and is still doing, in a public way, towards laying an ample and stable foundation for meteorology, zealous observers have been sedu-

lously pursuing special departments of the subject with remarkable success. One class of observers has watched with successful pertinacity the falling stars ; another has been no less assiduous in studying electrical meteors. One class, at whose head stand Dove and Kaempts, has perfected the theory of the winds, and demonstrated their paramount influence on other atmospheric changes ; while another class, in whose ranks Reid and our own countrymen Redfield and Espy occupy the first place, have aspired, and not without reason, to prescribe laws even to the fury of the storm. At Madras, Bermuda, and the Isle of Mauritius, are established what may be called storm-observatories ; where the annals of the tropical hurricanes are written down from the logs of ships which encountered them, or from the records of the observatory ; where the premonitory signs of destructive whirlwinds are discovered by induction, and telegraphed on their reappearance to the shipping in the harbors.

An exponent of the present activity in meteorological inquiry is the increased abundance and excellence of the literature on the subject. We need only refer to the quartos of meteorological observations periodically sent forth from the astronomical and the meteorological observatories ; to Arago's elegant report on thunder and lightning, from which British authors have so largely and uncereemoniously drawn ; to Peltier's book on waterspouts ; to Espy's *Philosophy of Storms* ; to the two substantial volumes which Lieut. Col. Reid has published at different times on the same subject ; to the numerous valuable papers of Redfield in *Silliman's Journal* and elsewhere, and the equally numerous and no less valuable memoirs of Piddington in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* ; to the practical application which Mr. Piddington has made of the theory of storms, (teaching the navigator to profit by them,) and which he has given in his recent publication "*The sailor's horn-book for the law of storms in all parts of the world.*" Finally, we may point to the "*Meteorologische Untersuchungen*" by Dove, and the various papers which this illustrious physicist has published in the *Memoirs of the Berlin Academy* ; to the "*Lehrbuch der Meteorologie*," in three volumes, by Kaempts, which appeared during the interval between 1831 and 1836 ; and to the more recent works on the same subject which are named at the head of this article ; one

of which is from the same meteorologist to whom we have just referred. The splendidly illustrated report, published by order of the French government, on the auroral observations made by Lottin and the other members of the French commission of the North, should not be omitted in this rapid recital of meteorological literature.

The "Introduction to Meteorology" by Thompson, and the "Complete Course of Meteorology" by Kaempts, are elaborate and classical treatises upon the general science so far as it is yet developed. A glance at the contents of these works, and those of a similar aim, published in the early part of the century, will indicate the stride which the science has taken. Marvellous phenomena, or, as Kaempts styles them, problematic phenomena, such as showers of sulphur, corn, blood, flesh, fish, meteoric stones; also, prognostications of the weather; topics which fill a considerable portion of Forster's book on atmospheric phenomena, shrink, in the works before us, into the compass of a few pages. While Professor of Physics at Halle, Kaempts made observations on the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer for ten consecutive years. He made his home on the Righi in Switzerland, 5938 feet above the level of the sea, from May 27 to June 24, 1832; on the Faulhorn, 8766 feet above the sea, from the 11th of September to 5th of October. He passed more than a month of the next year on the same elevated spots. In 1837, he studied the atmospherical phenomena of the North of Europe at Deep on the Baltic, and at this present time he is a professor in the University at Dorpat. Mr. Thompson has not favored the reader with any preface to his work; we have, therefore, no positive knowledge of his qualifications other than the character of the book itself, and that is sufficient. Although the topics discussed in these works are the same, and the order of arrangement not dissimilar, neither appears as a transcript of the other; each has the merit and all the value of an independent work. The quality of mind of the two writers is very different. Kaempts is an able observer; Thompson a learned and elegant compiler. Kaempts has treated the subject profoundly and originally; Thompson has made it attractive. Kaempts has been so preoccupied with those investigations into the primary laws of meteorology, which he has helped to elucidate, as to make of too little importance other

inquiries, not so fundamental, perhaps, and, not yet certainly, susceptible of the same precision, but none the less important. The labors of Espy are not mentioned, unless by the French translator in a note; and the theories of Redfield and Reid in regard to the philosophy of storms, which are too plausible and too directly associated with Dove's general view of the winds to be summarily dismissed, are not even named. Mr. Thompson's work shows familiarity with the whole field of meteorology and all its historical treasures; it is, without doubt, the ripened fruit of his accumulated labors. Kaemtz's book may be the best guide to the scientific meteorologist, but Thompson's will be full as interesting to the amateur. We must avoid, however, painting these contrasts in too strong a light. Either book may be read with profit by all; and each is an important acquisition to meteorological literature. Kaemtz's work is, to use his own phrase, rendered complete by the circumstance that he treats at some length, and in an elementary way, of the various physical laws which are applied in meteorology.

We have spoken of the plan of the two works as not unlike. This comes partly of necessity. The human mind, unable to grapple with a subject so complex as meteorology, in all its generality, seeks relief by contemplating it in detached parts. First of all, we might naturally study the relations of the atmosphere to the chemical forces. This leads us to consider the chemical properties of the atmospheric ingredients, and the harmony which must exist between them and animal and vegetable life. This preliminary step is deliberately taken by Thompson; but our other author, as if anxious to lose no time in getting at his subject, jumps at once, after three pages of introduction, to the physical relations of the atmosphere. Afterwards, however, he briefly alludes to the chemical properties of the atmospheric gases.

First among the physical conditions of the atmosphere is its relation to the dominant force of gravity. This leads us to consider the weight of the atmosphere, as measured by the barometer. The struggle between the weight of the air and its elasticity, ending in its assuming a figure of equilibrium, suggests the bulk and form of the atmosphere, the law of density which it follows at different heights above the sea, as determined by the barometer or the duration of twilight, with

the assistance of acknowledged principles in geometry and mechanics. In the agitations of the atmosphere, gravity appears as the principal leveller, the instrument of order and stability, as heat is the great disturber. All structures, organic and inorganic, almost all chemical and physical processes, and many of the most homely arrangements of civilized society are intimately related to the weight of the atmosphere, and are seriously affected by any change in that weight. It is well known that the boiling point of water and other liquids, or the temperature at which they pass suddenly into the state of vapor, diminishes as the atmospheric pressure decreases. Mr. Thompson repeats a pleasant anecdote, told by Mr. Darwin of the *Beagle*, who, in 1835, crossed the Andes, which shows that the subduing influence of cooking belongs to the heat and not to the fact of boiling. "Our potatoes," says Mr. Darwin, "after remaining for some hours in the boiling water, were nearly as hard as ever. The pot was left on the fire all night, and next morning it was boiled again; but yet the potatoes were not cooked. I found out this by overhearing my two companions discussing the cause; they had come to the simple conclusion, that the potatoes were bewitched, or that the pot, which was a new one, did not choose to boil them." Thompson adds that "on the Nonewara mountain, Baron Hügel had much difficulty in melting ice in consequence of its passing off in vapor without dissolving; at last he found the boiling point of water to be 188° ." On the Andes, the Peak of Teneriffe, Mont Blanc, and at the Hospice de St. Bernard, water boils at so low a temperature that the heat is not sufficient to soften animal fibre. Hence, the peasants are provided with what may be called a high-pressure pot, protected by a safety-valve. In 1817, Rev. F. J. H. Wollaston invented a thermometer, which indicated the one thousandth part of a degree of Fahrenheit. As the boiling point of water sunk through several divisions on the scale of this instrument, if it was raised from the floor to a table, Wollaston thought that it would supersede the barometer for measuring heights, especially when regard was had to its strength and portableness. Its manufacture for this purpose has recently been revived in Europe.

The same diminution of atmospheric pressure, which allows water to boil with less heat, makes it difficult to obtain that

heat. Travellers, since the thirteenth century, have noticed that fires kindled on mountains burned less freely than on the plain below. An equal impediment exists to that slow combustion which accompanies respiration. The whole animal creation sympathizes with the inconvenience, and sometimes pain, which are endured by those who have entered into the rarefied strata of the atmosphere. Mr. Thompson agreeably illustrates this point by telling the story of Mr. Lyell, "that the English greyhounds, taken out for the Real del Monte company in Mexico, when hunting at an altitude of 9000 feet, where the barometer does not rise above 19 inches, were unable to bear the fatigues of the chase, and fell down gasping in such an attenuated atmosphere; but, as if nature would provide for the altered condition of the race, the whelps felt no inconvenience from its rarity." The pliability of the human body, its power of adapting itself to new physical circumstances, is wonderful in this as in other things. The whole range of the barometer at the earth's surface, which is sometimes completed in the short space of a few weeks, as at Cambridge during the last winter, corresponds to a change in the pressure which surrounds the human body to the amount of more than one ton. In 1804, Gay Lussac ascended in a balloon 23,000 feet; in 1838, Green and Rush rose in the same way to a height of 27,136 feet. Lussac's barometer stood at 13.95 inches,* and the pressure on the body was diminished by more than seven tons. Where no effort is necessary, as in these cases, this extraordinary change in physical circumstances produces less effect than in climbing mountains; where, though the change is less sudden, a few steps suffice to exhaust the strength. Experiment shows that birds, whose home is in the deep sky, still feel the exhaustion in the receiver much more quickly than cold-blooded animals, as fishes.

We pass to a brief consideration of the atmosphere in its relation to heat. Here we enter a rich province of meteorology. Heat is the prime mover in the atmospheric mechanism. Among the physical relations of the atmosphere, those to heat are the most momentous. We are here led to examine the position in which the earth stands to the sun, the great source of

* Mr. Thompson's remark (page 42,) "that the weight of atmosphere which Gay Lussac then sustained was only about a fifth of that borne at the surface of the earth" is incorrect. It was about two fifths.

calorific radiation ; and the degree to which the fund of heat thus derived is modified by the temperature of the spaces through which the earth, along with the rest of the solar system, may be passing, and by the internal heat of the earth, which is continually renewed by the solidification of liquid matter within the crust and by the release of its latent heat. Under the potent wand of the solar beam, the earth's waters ascend in the state of vapor, an invisible mysterious state, afterwards to reappear in the shape of the white cumulus, the frowning nimbus, or the delicate cirrus ; or to paint on the sky the beautiful lines of the mackerel's back. So incessant, so irresistible, is the power of these slender rays from the sun, that the united strength of the human family is insufficient to protect a single sea from their devastations. Mr. Leslie has computed that 52,120 million cubic feet of water, each of which weighs $62\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, are carried up 18,000 feet into the atmosphere every minute. The power of the sun in producing evaporation equals that of eighty millions of millions of men, or 200,000 times the accumulated toil of the working population of the earth ; and it is eighty times as great as the power which it exerts together with the moon in producing the tides. Acquiring in its passage from the liquid to the gaseous state a capacity for heat which exceeds that which accompanies a similar physical change in any other fluid, with what admirable economy does this enormous mass of vapor garner up the prodigal rays of a tropical sun and of a summer's day, rescue them from the incessant radiation which wastes all free heat, and transport them in its delicate folds, on the wings of the winds, to the uttermost parts of the earth, to bestow them on seasons and zones which fare less sumptuously from the sun's bounty. There and then, it descends as dew, (called star-spit by the natives of Orinoco,) or frost, rain, hail, sleet, or in some one of the ninety beautiful forms of the snow, to gladden the heart of man and make the desert blossom as the rose.

The direct action of the solar rays, combined with the heat and moisture dispensed by the curious mechanism put in play by the solar heat, is the most considerable element in climate, the peculiarities of which are too minute for philosophy to follow. The influences of climate are neither few nor small. So sensitive is man to the smallest modification of climate, that he is always willing to construe some occasional and extraor-

dinary excess into a permanent change. These excesses are no indication whatever of climate. Occasionally we read in books that the Black Sea or the Baltic, the Euxine or the Propontis, were frozen over; that the harbor of Genoa, Leghorn, Marseilles, or Venice was blocked up with ice; that wine was split with a hatchet in Flanders; that the Thames, the Rhine, the Seine, the Hellespont, and many other rivers of Europe have been frozen so that carriages crossed them; that fires were kindled, fairs held, and oxen roasted upon them; that armies encamped on them, or crossed over them, as on solid ground. Such things would be extraordinary now; they were equally extraordinary then. On this subject Mr. Thompson makes the following remarks:—

“That human agency may be subservient to producing considerable local changes in the temperature of the seasons, by draining marshy countries, cutting down forests, and bringing the soil under cultivation, cannot be doubted; but it has been shown by Arago, in a series of collected observations, extending back to a century before the birth of Christ, that, upon the whole, there is no material alteration in the temperature of the seasons. Schouw has demonstrated the same; and by a happy accident, which has restored Raineri’s early Florentine registers, Signor Libri has shown that the climate of Northern Italy is now the same as it was in the days of Galileo.”

Who has not observed that the hottest and the coldest days ever experienced at the same place often fall into a single year? Dureau de la Malle, in a memoir on the climate of ancient and modern Italy, presented to the French Academy in 1848, uses the following strong language:—

“I terminate by affirming that the epochs, or at least the limits, of the different agricultural labors, and the several phases of vegetation, are, for the same localities and the same altitudes, identical in ancient and modern Italy; and, finally, that from the age of Augustus to the present era, the climate of Italy has not undergone any sensible modifications in its mean temperature, its annual or even monthly.”

The climate of a country is not made or unmade by a day or a year. Its virtues are distilled from a thousand separate influences. The transient excesses, caused by momentary accumulations of heat, moisture, or electricity, at particular

points, in spite of the perfect system of transportation and equalization of which we have spoken, have not power to produce so much as a ripple on the even surface of the general climate.

Man is not able wholly to resist the physical influence of climate; still he has a great capacity of endurance against excesses of the most opposite character. In Nubia, the thermometer sometimes reaches 130° Fahr.; and when exposed to the sand and the sun, it has mounted to 150° . Thompson relates, that Griffiths observed the thermometer in the desert near the Euphrates ascend during land winds to 130° in the shade, and 156° in the sun. Turn now to the opposite extreme. Gmelin, the elder, who explored Siberia, records the temperature on one occasion as being 20° below zero in Fahrenheit's scale. Captain Parry has recorded it at 55° , Capt. Franklin at 57° , Capt. John Ross at 60° , and Capt. Back at 70° ; all below zero. Mr. Thompson has enlivened his work with the following description by Captain Lyon, who had been transferred in a short period from Africa, the hottest region in the world, to the winter quarters of Captain Parry, in the coldest.

"At our first quarters, my clothing, with the exception of a thicker jacket, was the same as I had worn during summer. I never exceeded one pair of thin worsted stockings, neither did I find it requisite, unless the weather was windy, to wear either a great coat or comforter when walking out. There were two or three others equally insensible to the cold as myself; but the change of climate had an effect on me, which, I believe, was not experienced by the rest, and which was, that the hair from my head regularly *moulted*, if I may be excused the expression, and was renewed two or three times; even in the summer following, and in this second winter, the process still continued, although in a slighter degree. My health all this time was better than I had ever enjoyed for so long a period. But we all felt now the necessity of putting on additional clothing, both while below, and when walking out; coldness in the feet was, I believe, the most general complaint. . . . Our stove-funnels collected a quantity of ice within them, notwithstanding fires kept up night and day, so that it was frequently requisite to take them down, in order to break and melt out the ice, as it collected in the same form as the pulp of a cocoanut lies within the shell."

Degrees of temperature vastly exceeding any which occur

in the routine of atmospheric changes have been endured for a few minutes. Sir Francis Chantrey exposed himself to a temperature of 320° in his drying furnace.

Let us next contemplate the relations of the atmosphere to electricity and magnetism. These relations, though subordinate, certainly, to those of gravity, elasticity, and heat, must not be overlooked, as they have sometimes been by those who undertake to construct meteorological theories. We may not be able to point, with confidence, to any grand central orb pouring down electricity upon the earth as the sun pours down heat. Nevertheless we are at no loss for the origin of those electrical disturbances which are renewed every day, and sometimes acquire a fearful magnitude. Not an atom stirs, no chemical, physical, or mechanical change occurs to a body, no animal or vegetable function is discharged, without the evolution of its equivalent of the magical fluid. No drop of vapor leaves the earth's waters, no portion of a cloud recondenses into rain, no winds blow, rubbing against each other or against the rough planet, without contributing, each smallest particle its mite, to swell the electrical wave, What wonder, therefore, when the bridle is taken from the atmosphere, when the rains descend, and the floods come, and the winds blow, that the electrical force also should overleap its equilibrium to afflict and destroy? The experiments of Franklin and his cotemporaries with kites and vertical rods; the recent experiments of Weekes, Crosse, and others, with long wires suspended horizontally like the telegraph wires, have made men of science at home even with the lightning. Mr. Thompson states, that "in 1811, at Philipsthal, in Eastern Prussia, an enormous block was shivered in a thunder storm, by means of a tall iron rod duly provided for the purpose." Here the lightning was deliberately used to blast rocks.

Arago, in his eulogy upon Volta, in 1831, took occasion to assail the claim of Franklin to the discovery of the electrical character of lightning; a claim which the whole scientific world had been proud to acknowledge for three quarters of a century. Arago contends, that if the merit of the discovery consists in the first intimation of the identity of lightning and electricity, then it belongs to Nollet; if the merit consists in the experimental proof of this identity, then it belongs to another of his countrymen, D'Alibard; so that

France has it at any rate. In our opinion, the merit of a conjecture belongs to him who first started it, and the merit of the experimental proof belongs to him who originated that. Which has the greatest merit, the conjecture or the experimental demonstration, must be judged by their fruits. We further assert, that the merit of the first conjecture does not belong to Nollet, and that the merit of the first experimental proof does belong to Franklin. Nevertheless the passage from Nollet is very remarkable. We take it as Kaempitz has given it.

“If any one, after comparing the phenomena, undertook to prove that thunder is in the hands of nature what electricity is in our own; that those wonders, which we now dispose of as we wish, are trifling imitators of those great effects which terrify us; that the whole depends upon the same mechanism; if he should show that a cloud prepared by the action of the winds, by heat, and the mixture of exhalations, is, in respect to a terrestrial object, what the electrized body is when in presence and at a certain distance from the one which is not so; I acknowledge that this idea, if it were well maintained, would please me much, &c.”

This passage was published in 1748. But Mr. Gray, in 1735, had expressed the hope “that there may be found out a way to collect a greater quantity of electric fire, and consequently to increase the force of that power, which, by several of these experiments,

‘*Si parva licet componere magnis,*’

seems to be of the same nature with thunder and lightning.” Hawksbee, Wall, and Winkler all shared in this conjecture, and some of them anticipated Nollet in it by nearly half a century. So much for the conjecture. Then as to the experiment, we wholly disagree with Arago as to the value to be put upon it. He thinks the identity so obvious, that an experiment was almost useless to prove it. The identity was no doubt obvious to him; but it is the experiment which has made it so. Now, to whom does the merit of the experiment belong? Franklin, in a letter to a friend, which was published to all Europe, suggests two methods of making the experiment; by a rod or by a kite. D’Alibard, following, as he is careful to say, the method which Franklin had pointed out, obtained a spark from a rod on the 10th of May, 1752. Franklin drew down the lightning on the kite-string on the 15th of June.

We should not have felt it necessary to recur to this opinion of Arago in regard to one of the most brilliant discoveries of the American philosopher, had not Martins, the translator of Kaempts's meteorology from the German into the French, showed a disposition to renew the claim for France, though upon a different ground; and did not the note in which his opinions are expressed appear also in the English translation which has been made from the French. Kaempts, after doing justice to Nollet and others, who had conjectured the identity of electricity and lightning, uses these words:—"To study the electricity of the clouds, Franklin was the first to employ the electric kite." On the paragraph of which this is a part, Martins. has this note: "Franklin, in his excellent work on the influence of points, had indicated the means of investigation which he proposed using to study the electricity of the clouds; but it was in 1752, that D'Alibard was the first to mount at Marly-la-Ville a fixed apparatus with which he drew forth sparks from a storm cloud, and it was Romas who first sent up the electric kite, in the same year." This is all true. But why does not Martins tell us how Romas succeeded? He sent up his kite on the 14th of May. He selected the day because it was showery. It had rained, he tells us, ten times. *Still he could not get a spark.* On the 17th of June, he tried again and succeeded. But Franklin's experiment had already been made triumphantly. We will only add the hearty words with which Thompson closes his review of the subject, though he makes no reference to the recent demands set up by the French philosophers which we have been discussing.

"The letters of the modest and perspicuous American were rejected for publication by the Royal Society of London. In England and France, opposition arose—violent, puerile, and sickening. Truth triumphed over the Abbé Nollet and our countrymen. Priestley at home, and Beccaria in Italy, entered the lists, and defended Franklin. The Royal Society elected him a Fellow, and, as if to atone for past faults, presented to him a medal! The Fellowship conferred upon him less honor than he did upon it; it may be forgotten, and the medal may moulder in darkness; but the name of Franklin will endure, and beam with greater radiance in ages yet unborn, in proportion as this subject is studied and new truths are unveiled. The time is on the wing, when not only in India, but in Polynesia and

Central Africa, the experiment of the electric kite will be familiarly known to every schoolboy, and the fame of Franklin wide as the world."

In reviewing the electrical relations of the atmosphere, the aurora must not be forgotten. Whoever has witnessed the beautiful experiment of sending friction electricity through a tall exhausted receiver will confess the resemblance of this electrical light, both in its colors and its motions, to the aurora, or skipping goats, as it has been figuratively called. The Indian believed that the aurora is the descending spirit of his fathers; the philosopher has taught that it is the magnetism of the earth spouting out from the magnetic pole; or that it arises from vapors and exhalations which have ascended to such a height as to be outside of the shadow of the earth, and to be illuminated by the sun. Captain John Ross explained the auroral light by the reflection of sunlight from the brilliantly colored ice and snow of the polar seas. Though it may not be possible, in the present condition of science, to sketch all the parts of the delicate machinery by which this grand exhibition is produced, still the opinion at the present day is almost universal, that the phenomenon is electrical. It is not strange, that the vapor which goes up should carry with it latent electricity as well as heat; it is not strange that this latent electricity should be freed when the vapor forms cloud; that the greatest amount of electricity should be set free in high latitudes, where the condensation is the greatest; that the electricity abandoned to itself should seek the earth again, as lightning or as the aurora. But how shall we explain the symmetry of the auroral lines? If the laws of perspective are applied to them, the complex arrangement is reducible to beams parallel to one another and to the magnetic axis of the earth. What is the substance of these conducting lines, and why they take that position, no one is able to say. Biot remarks, "But of all terrestrial substances, only the metals, so far as we know, are in any considerable degree susceptible of magnetism. It is, then, probable that the columns of the meteor are, at least in a great measure, composed of metallic particles reduced to powder of extreme fineness." Mr. Faraday inclines to the opinion that all bodies, the solids as well as the liquids, are represented in the atmosphere by their vapors, which have gone up at ordinary temperatures.

To prepare the way for a satisfactory physical explanation of the aurora, it is essential to exclude all that is merely traditional, or about which there are contradictory reports. The light of the aurora is what especially signalizes it. This is comparatively faint. When the whole hemisphere is illuminated by it, the light does not exceed that of the full moon. Artificial electricity, when it traverses the thin air in the receiver of the air-pump, is very faint. But the atmosphere, in the region to which the aurora belongs, is highly attenuated, to a degree unapproached by the best artificial vacuum, if we adopt the larger estimate of the height of the aurora. It has been computed, that a single cubic inch of common air could, by expanding, fill a sphere as large as Saturn's orbit with an atmosphere equal in density to the earth's atmosphere 500 miles above the surface.

It has been asserted that the aurora addressed other senses besides the eye. Trevelyan learned in Farø, that it was accompanied by a peculiar smell. In still more decided language does Gmelin, in his account of Siberia, speak of the sounds emitted by the aurora. "However beautiful this spectacle may be, I think it will be impossible to contemplate it for the first time without emotions of terror; so constantly is it accompanied, as I have been informed by several intelligent persons, with noises like those hissings and cracklings produced by very large fireworks." The testimony of the inhabitants of the Shetland Islands is equally full and complete. Edmonston relates, that in a voyage between London and the Shetland Islands, an aurora appeared, vivid and loud; "the noise with which it was accompanied was such that the sailors were afraid to remain on deck." Biot, to whom we are indebted for these cases, gives his own opinion in these words—"It seems probable, after this mass of testimony, that the meteor sometimes descends so low as to allow us to hear the noise proceeding from it." On the other hand, scientific travellers, who have made the aurora an object of special study, do not allude to these sounds, and Captains Parry and Scoresby expressly say, that they never heard them. In one of Franklin's expeditions, an officer heard a hissing noise, such as might be made by a bullet, passing through the air, which he attributed to the aurora; but his companions explained it by the action of the

severe cold on the snow. "The auroras," says Humboldt, "have become more silent since observers have better understood how to observe them, and how to listen for them."

It is a common opinion that the aurora occurs more frequently now than it did one or two centuries ago. Halley waited to see an exhibition till he had almost ceased to hope. Celsius says it was more rare in Sweden previous to 1716 than it has been since. Between 1716 and 1732, it was observed 316 times. Mairan, who in 1754 published a great work of classical authority on the subject, enumerates 1441 appearances only, between the years 583 and 1751. It is his opinion that these exhibitions were not distributed indiscriminately during this long period, but were crowded into distinct epochs, of which he is able to separate 22 distinctly from each other. Before adopting such an opinion, great weight must be given to the increased number of observers and to the more favorable position which they enjoy. In high latitudes, the aurora is almost as common as the rising of the sun. The French scientific commission, which spent some time at Finmark in 1838 and '9, witnessed 150 displays in 218 days. Captain Lefroy has taken measures to have the aurora observed at all the regimental guard-rooms in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. In 1848-9, the number of exhibitions, compared with the number of nights when they would have been visible if they were produced, amounted to between 19 and 33 per cent. for different places; though generally the aurora was not looked for after midnight. On two occasions, the same aurora was seen at all the stations, which were distributed over an area of 1,150 miles in longitude and 140 in latitude. These and other observations made in British America have suggested to Captain Lefroy, that the aurora was not unmindful of the hour of the night, but was visible about 10 or 11 in the evening more frequently than at other hours. If these observations are continued for several years, and others like them made in the United States, the theory can be fairly tested whether the aurora, like the falling stars, obeys a period.

Before we have the elements of a correct theory of the aurora, the immense discrepancies in regard to its observed distance must be reconciled. Some observers assert that the height of the aurora is 1,000 miles; others think as many

feet will be nearer to the truth. Parry thought on one occasion the aurora was between the observer and some rising ground only 3000 feet distant. The elder Ross saw it, as he supposed, between two ships, or between his ship and an iceberg. Some explain away these cases by the persistency of the impression on the retina. The extraordinary refractions, so common in high latitudes, might displace the aurora, as they disfigure and displace other visible objects. On the other hand, the parallactic determinations of the height of the aurora, which have placed it between 50 and 825 miles from the earth on different occasions, are open to the objection that the two observers, whose results become the elements of the calculation, may not be looking at the same object; that each observer may have his own aurora, as each has his own rainbow, and his own thunder and lightning. The point at issue is fundamental. While one class of distances keeps the aurora in our immediate neighborhood, in the region of clouds and other ordinary meteorological phenomena, the other lifts it into spaces not of the earth, but rather cosmical. Though elevated to unusual regions of the atmosphere, from which otherwise no report has ever come to science, we may still claim the aurora for the earth, as it partakes of its diurnal motion, and arranges its flashing lines so rigidly according to the direction of the earth's magnetic axes. Sir John Ross observed in 1818, while his ship was moving south from 74° latitude, that the auroras were seen to the south, till he reached the parallel of 66° ; after which, they swung round to the north. Almost every city and town, we presume, can sympathize sincerely with the vigilant firemen of London, who, according to Thompson, have turned out on several occasions to extinguish the aurora.

We conclude this division of our subject, on the electrical relations of the air, with the following sentence from Kaempts, in whose opinion we fully concur. "However, it appears to me demonstrated, that electricity is not the cause of the modifications of the atmosphere; and its most formidable manifestations occur, because the electricity liberated by the precipitation of the vapor of water cannot be neutralized except by a spark."

Finally, let us take a glance at the position which the light occupies in meteorology. According to the latest

researches of Melloni, the same individual rays from the sun which warm the earth enlighten it likewise. The well known want of proportionality between the calorific and luminous intensities of the same solar rays Melloni explains by an organic peculiarity in the eye itself; which is so tempered as to respond strongly to certain undulations, and feebly or not at all to others, with which its own harmonics are not in tune. The most intense undulations, mechanically considered, are not necessarily those which awaken the sensation of the brightest light. The intensity of the sensation depends in part on the pitch of the undulation, or on what we commonly call its color, and not exclusively on its intrinsic force. As the solar heat, distributed and economized by atmospheric agencies, ministers to the comfort of man, tempering the extremes of geographical position, and equalizing to a considerable degree the blessings of a provident nature, so the light of the sun kindles the face of creation into a smile and brings gladness to man's heart. But it is the atmosphere which converts the raw material from the sun into countless forms of unspeakable beauty; scattering the rich colors over the sky, breaking it into beautiful fragments to paint the rainbow, and ornamenting the dull face of nature with its mirage, its halos, its extraordinary refraction, and its stellar scintillation. If heat is the useful handmaid of the earth, the light is the ornament and grace of our planet.

After the solar radiations, clothed with their triple charm of light, heat, and chemical action, have reached the earth, they convert the part of it which they impinge upon into a centre of secondary radiations; these secondary radiations, however, are so modified by the gross material from which they spring, so reduced in pitch, it may be, as no longer to possess the power of acting on the eye. Hence the means divinely appointed for distributing the light to the scattered pilgrims on the earth are different from those which transport the heat. The exquisite experiments of Melloni have proved, that the heat has not been wholly sifted from the moonlight. Nevertheless the moon's agency in warming the earth is wholly insignificant. But in illuminating the earth, the moon is second only to the sun. By beautiful and simple astronomical arrangements, the full moons of winter run high, and remain above the horizon more than half the day. This

compensation for the absence of sunlight is perfect in all its details. At the poles, during the sun's six months' absence, the moon keeps an incessant vigil, only sinking below the horizon at her change, when her dark side is turned to the earth and her presence is useless. Laplace was led by his analysis to the conclusion that, if the moon were placed opposite to the sun and about four times as far from the earth as she now is, and then started in her new orbit with a certain velocity, she would always remain in opposition. As she would be too far off then to receive the earth's shadow, we should have a full moon every night. If the earth were a gainer, the moon certainly would be a loser. If the moon were always full to the earth, the earth would never be full to the moon, but ever new. If the earth were ready, would the moon consent to this proposed amendment to the solar system? As the light of the moon would then be sixteen times less to us than the present light of a full moon, perhaps even we should not consent.

Let us not undervalue the meteorological provision for equalizing the light. The atmosphere, by refracting and reflecting the sun's rays, anticipates for us his presence in the morning, and makes his rays still linger over our heads in the evening. The same astronomical cause which keeps the sun below the horizon six months at the pole, prolongs the twilight, which at the equator is only an hour, to four and a half months. But the refractive and reflective powers of the air carry to still greater extremes the duration of twilight, and always in favor of the poles.

"In the interior of Africa," says Kaempts, "where the air is sometimes so pure and so transparent that Bruce, when in Sennaar, saw the planet Venus in broad daylight, night immediately succeeds sunset. On the other side of the Alps, in Dalmatia for instance, night occurs half an hour after sunset. Between the tropics, twilight is still shorter; it lasts a quarter of an hour at Chili, according to Acosta; and a few minutes at Cumana, according to M. de Humboldt. The same phenomenon occurs on the coast of Africa. These results differ very manifestly from those obtained by calculations, according to which twilight ought to last at least an hour. We are, therefore, obliged to admit that, between the tropics, the sun is not so far below the horizon at the end of twilight as it is in the very high latitudes."

If the refractive power of the tropical air falls below the

average, that of the polar air exceeds it. On the 3d of February, 1820, when Captain Parry was in latitude $74^{\circ} 47'$, the sun made his appearance after an absence of ninety-two days, three days sooner than calculation predicted. On the 24th of January, 1597, Barentz saw his disc at Nova Zembla fifteen days before he was expected to return. If meteorology can produce such permanent and material disturbances in the precision of astronomical calculations made for different latitudes, we shall not be surprised at occasional excesses of atmospherical refraction anywhere. In 1750, the sun was still above the horizon at Paris, when the moon rose in a total eclipse. The same phenomenon was witnessed in Great Britain in 1837. In these cases, the amount of refraction was not unusual; but its reality was brought home to the senses in an extraordinary manner. We have read with a little surprise the following remarks of Mr. Thompson, which seem to carry us back to the good old days of meteorology.

“This recalls to mind the miraculous lengthening of the day when Joshua was engaged in combat with the Amorites. Then the sun did not set on Gibeon, and the moon tarried in Ajalon. Though we doubt not the power of him who said and it was done, to hold the earth ‘in the hollow of his hand,’ while it ceased to perform its diurnal revolution — to stay the moon in her orbit, and prevent her rotating on her axes — to interpose his almighty arm between the other members of the system and physical disturbances — these, and more if required, we freely grant, still we humbly think, that this miracle was wrought by the secondary influence of an unusual refraction. Another miracle, which we would explain in a similar way, was the returning of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz.”

Indispensable as is the light to the physical well-being of man, to the perfection of vegetation, to valuable processes of art, and as an instrument of research opening to him an infinitude of worlds of which otherwise he would be ignorant, the alternation of light with darkness exercises an important influence on civilization. Mr. Thompson has enriched his book with the following description by Captain Beechey of the effect of perpetual sunshine.

“The novelty it must be admitted, was very agreeable; and the advantage of constant delight in an unexplored and naturally

boisterous sea was too great to allow us even to wish for a return of the alternations of day and night. But the reluctance we felt to quit the deck when the sun was shining bright upon our sails, and to retire to our cabins to sleep, often deprived us of many hours of necessary rest; and when we returned to the deck to keep the night watch, if it may be so called, and still found the sun gilding the sky, it seemed as if the day would never finish. What, therefore, at first promised to be so gratifying, soon threatened to become extremely irksome; and would, indeed, have been a serious inconvenience, had we not followed the example of the feathery tribe, which we daily observed winging their way to roost with a clockwork regularity, and retired to our cabin at the proper hour, where, shutting out the rays of the sun, we obtained that repose which the exercise of our duties required."

Throughout the whole of this review of the various relations of the atmosphere, who can fail to acknowledge the Divine Artificer who has organized it for the wonderful services it must perform? Every living thing draws nourishment from it, though it is made up of elements which, chemically combined, compose either an irrespirable medium, an intoxicating draught, or a virulent poison. It conveys sound, and obstructs less than any other substance the light and heat. The thinnest slice of a crystal can alone compete with the air in transparency, though the thickness of the latter exceeds 40 miles. One half of the solar rays of heat reach the solid earth when they pass perpendicularly through the atmosphere, and one quarter of the light. So transparent is the air in Persia that the stars do not twinkle; and among the Andes, the *poncho* or mantle worn on horseback can be seen at a horizontal distance of 16 miles. Even the inertia of the atmosphere has been turned to good account. When the air is in motion, it wafts our ships and turns our machinery; when it is at rest, it is an ever present defence around each city and home, protecting it by night and day from the distant assaults of the unprincipled and ambitious.*

The glance we have cast at the applications of physical science to meteorology will give some idea of the range of subjects pertaining to the latter, and which both our authors have thoroughly handled; though neither of them in the exact

* A 24 pound shot which might, *in vacuo*, reach the horizontal distance of 125,000 feet, is reduced by the resistance of the air to a range of 7,300 feet.

order in which it has seemed proper to us to introduce them. A great variety of topics, belonging to the natural history of the science, are not omitted by either ; but we have no time to dwell upon them. The falling stars, once styled meteors *par excellence*, are now admitted into works on meteorology by virtue of one out of four hypotheses to explain their origin, and that by no means the most probable one. Mr. Thompson discusses them, and Mr. Kaempts gives them a corner in his short chapter on problematic phenomena. We pass over the subject, as it has already been ably treated in the pages of this Review. Mr. Thompson affords a page or two to the zodiacal light ; but its title to admission is of no value, and Kaempts silently rejects it. Thompson gives the authority of Laplace for discarding the theory that the zodiacal light belongs to the sun's atmosphere.

"The sun's atmosphere," says Laplace, "can extend no farther than to the orbit of a planet whose periodical revolution is performed in the same time as the sun's rotatory motion about its axis ; or in $25\frac{1}{2}$ days. Therefore, it does not extend so far as the orbits of Mercury and Venus ; and we know that the zodiacal light extends much beyond them. Again, the ratio of the polar to the equatorial diameter of the sun cannot be less than $\frac{2}{3}$ (for when the centrifugal force at the equator just equals gravity, or the atmosphere is most compressed at the poles, this is the ratio) ; now, the zodiacal light appears under the form of a very flat lens, the apex of which is in the plane of the solar equator. Therefore, this fluid is not the solar atmosphere."

Mr. Thompson makes no reference to the preceding passage, which we have extracted from the "*Mécanique Céleste*" of Laplace, as containing the most exact exposition of his views in relation to the zodiacal light. Humboldt in his *Cosmos* refers to it. But unfortunately he has paraphrased the passage, instead of using the words of Laplace ; and has fallen, therefore, into an inaccuracy of statement very unusual for him. These are the words of Humboldt : —

"This phenomenon, whose primordial antiquity can scarcely be doubted, and which was first noticed in Europe by Childrey and Dominicus Cassini, is not the luminous solar atmosphere itself, since this cannot, in accordance with mechanical laws, be more compressed than in the relation of 2 to 3, and consequently cannot be diffused beyond $\frac{2}{3}$ of Mercury's heliocentric distance. These same laws teach us, that the altitude of the extreme boundaries

of the atmosphere of a cosmical body above its equator, that is to say, the point at which gravity and centrifugal force are in equilibrium, must be the same as the altitude at which a satellite would rotate round the central body simultaneously with the diurnal revolution of the latter."

The words which we have italicized are not a consequence of the proposition to which they are appended, but of the proposition which follows.

Oersted, the distinguished philosopher of Copenhagen, observes, that little has been done in discovering laws of meteorology, because men have sought to find out the first change in the atmosphere, and have had an overstrained regard for some comprehensive principle, instead of carefully collecting facts and tracing the proximate causes. Without meaning to take the least exception to the truth of this remark, we still believe it to be incumbent on the scientific meteorologist to have a high aim, and never to lose sight of it. Else, how shall he know what to observe among the countless phenomena which crowd upon his vision, and how to dispose of what he has observed? The indiscriminate collection of meteorological details is not science, any more than a heedless picking up of stones is geology, or the bare counting of the stars is astronomy. In examining the two works under review according to this standard, the scientific reader will have no difficulty in distinguishing the peculiar cast of each. Mr. Thompson calls his work an introduction to meteorology; while Mr. Kaempts aspires to a complete course of meteorology. Each work is true, and perhaps equally so, to its title. Thompson's work is replete with information, enlivened by anecdote, and embellished by poetical allusions. It is written in an elegant and generally accurate style, always beautiful, and sometimes eloquent. And what is of no small moment in a book of facts, it contains very few typographical errors. The work of Kaempts is more severe in its object, and more sober in its style. Probably the language of no author does perfect justice to his thought. In the present instance, we do not read his words, but the translation of a translation, so that the ordinary insufficiency of language is raised to the third power. Beneath all this, however, we see the strength, clearness, and caution of the author's mind, and the approximation he makes to a dynamical view of meteorology. Kaempts does not study the periodical changes in the barometer, thermometer, and

hygrometer, by themselves, but in combination with the prevalent winds which accompany them. The general climate of a place, as well as the particular weather, depend on the temperature and moisture of these winds; and this temperature and moisture depend on the direction of the winds, in other words, on the latitude and geographical peculiarities of the countries from which they come, compared with the latitude and geographical peculiarities of the countries to which they go. Yes, the winds, the fickle and unsteady winds, are the landmarks in meteorology; and as soon as a correct dynamical theory of these winds is matured, an ample and solid foundation will be laid for the whole science.

In 1827, Dove attempted to complete the theory of the winds, by applying to the irregular winds which blow in the middle latitudes the same solution which had been given for the regular trade-winds of the tropics. As the history of this solution is often given with a great lack of precision, (being attributed sometimes to Halley, sometimes to Hadley, and by Kaempts indiscriminately to both,) it may be worth while briefly to recapitulate it. Two centuries ago, Descartes ascribed the trade-winds to the inertia of the atmosphere, which did not acquire the full speed of the equator, but always had a relative motion westward with respect to the solid land. Galileo also recognized in the trade-winds the evidence of the lagging of the atmosphere. Bacon, rejecting, as he did, the Copernican system, and believing the earth fixed, explained the trade-winds by supposing the air, which was of the heaven heavenly, to partake of the diurnal motion of the heaven westward. In 1686, Dr. Halley referred the trade-winds to the confluence of air into the space which had just been heated by the sun. Halley took no account, in his theory, of inertia, but rested exclusively on the agency of heat; Descartes, on the contrary, neglected the heat, and placed his sole reliance on the inertia which Halley repudiated. In 1735, Hadley gave the true solution, now universally received; combining the effect of heat, which raises a vertical current, with the inertia of the air as it changes its parallel of latitude. Dalton, a great philosopher, but not a scholar, reproduced Hadley's theory in 1793, without being aware that he had been anticipated; a mistake into which he fell on other occasions, and for a similar reason, namely, want of familiarity with the history of science. Dalton said that De Luc was, so far as he knew,

the only person who had given any weight to inertia. We should not fail to remark, that the accepted theory of the trade-winds, original with Hadley and Dalton, is not a happy mixture of conflicting views ; for the heat and the inertia which figure in it play parts wholly different from the unphilosophical ones assigned to them by Halley and Descartes. The inertia, as it was applied by Descartes and Galileo to the explanation of the trade-winds, is not a *vera causa*. For, however much the air may have lagged behind when the earth first began to turn, it must ere this have acquired by friction the common diurnal motion. This objection does not hold against the use which Hadley and Dalton made of inertia. So long as air continues to come from the poles, it comes with an insufficient velocity of rotation, so that the trade-wind is perpetual. Moreover, the loitering of the air would be greater as it was higher above the earth, whereas in fact the upper strata move in the opposite direction to the lower, and, therefore, faster than the solid mass. Again, the influence of heat as applied by Halley to the explanation of the trade-winds is no better. If the air follows the sun, it must circumnavigate the earth in a day. Such a wind never has been witnessed ; much less is it the gentle trade-wind, with which the ship performs her voyage from continent to continent without once taking down her royals. The only approximation to Hadley's theory was made by Hooke. He availed himself of the sun's rays to make an ascending current at the equator, and thence a polar current in the lower stratum, and an equatorial current in the upper stratum ; but he clung to the favorite idëa that the air hung back from the diurnal motion, or outran it, to explain the easterly and westerly elements of direction in these two currents. Humboldt, who in other respects has given the history of the theories upon the trade-winds very elaborately, has lent his aid to perpetuate the confusion of the very different views of Halley and Hadley upon this subject. Humboldt says in his *Cosmos*, "Hooke's more correct view was taken up by Halley late in the eighteenth century, and was then more fully and satisfactorily explained with reference to the action of the velocity of rotation peculiar to each parallel of latitude. Halley, prompted by his long sojourn in the torrid zone, had even earlier (1686) published an admirable empirical work on the geographical extension of trade-winds and monsoons." As

Halley died in 1742, as his theory rejected "the velocity of rotation peculiar to each parallel," and as Humboldt adds in a note that the theory of Galileo must not be confounded with that of Hooke and Hadley, — we think Humboldt must have intended to write Hadley instead of Halley, in the first sentence above quoted. The recurrence of the name in the next sentence, where no one but Halley can be meant, does, we confess, clash somewhat with this attempted solution of the mistake.

We cannot agree with Dove when he says, that no one has gone beyond Halley in explaining the winds. The error into which Dove has fallen does not interfere at all with the merit of his own labors. It occurs to his clear mind, that the upper and southwest current, which is moving from the equator to the north pole, must occasionally sink and displace the lower and northeast current, which is blowing from the north pole to the equator; so that, instead of regular winds, like the trades in the tropics, where one of these currents has the supremacy, there are irregular winds in the higher latitudes, depending on the conflict of the two antagonistic currents. The prevalence of either of these winds at a particular time and place, with its characteristics of temperature and moisture, determines the essential features of the weather. By this theory, Dove is able to explain a phenomenon well known to Bacon, which is vulgarly expressed by saying that the wind does not back in, but has a progressive change of direction, from the east through the south to the west. "*Si ventus se mutet conformiter ad motum solis, non revertitur plerumque, aut si hoc facit, fit ad breve tempus.*" This applies to the northern hemisphere only; in the southern hemisphere, the rotation of the winds is from the east through the north to the west. The physiognomy of the earth, the outline of the contact of the land with air and water, derange this general dynamical action, as the most regular part of it, the trade-winds, is deranged in the eastern hemisphere, and converted into monsoons.

If the sun moved always in the earth's equator, the theory of the winds might stop here. But the parallel to which the sun is vertical shifts in the course of the year, from 23° south latitude to 23° north latitude. As the sun advances upon us from the equator, the southeasterly trade-wind of the southern hemisphere follows it, encroaching on the zone of which the northeast trade-wind is in possession. As the southeasterly

current passes into the northern hemisphere, it becomes southwesterly with regard to the solid earth, which it surpasses in velocity of rotation. In the neighborhood of the northern tropic, we have a struggle every summer between this southwesterly trade from the other hemisphere, and the polar current from the north. The effect of the collision is twofold: — a rotation of the air from north, through the west to south, and a diminution in the motion of the great body of it towards the west. As soon as this column of southern air has ploughed through the northern trade, and reached the southwesterly winds of higher latitudes, where the westerly motions conspire, it changes its progressive direction suddenly towards the east, and no longer feels the power which makes it whirl. Hence the origin of the tropical hurricanes; hence the derivation of their whirlwind character; a character which Reid, Redfield, and others have deduced from their practical study of hurricanes. Hence the progressive motion of the hurricanes, first towards the northwest, and then with a sudden turn towards the northeast. Hence their diminished violence after they have passed the tropics. Hence the season of the year at which hurricanes most abound. When the sun has gone back from the northern to the southern hemisphere, the polar current from the north follows it, and makes reprisals in the other hemisphere for the interruption it has suffered in its own. Hence the hurricanes of the southern hemisphere, the season when they occur, and the direction in which they turn. Truly may it be said, that Dove, while sowing to the wind has reaped the whirlwind.

To some, a meteorological theory will have no value if it cannot explain the exceptional and wonderful phenomena of the atmosphere. Such persons will be disappointed with the work of Kaempts. The true meteorologist, says Kaempts, gives no more value to these extraordinary things than the zoologist to monstrosities. To all those who tell strange stories in regard to showers of frogs, fish, and other small animals, Kaempts has no other answer to give but that of one of the most distinguished naturalists of the age, made to one who told him he had seen one of these phenomena: — “It is fortunate,” he said, “that you have seen it, for now I believe it; had I seen it myself, I should not have believed it.”

There is another class of amateur meteorologists, who are

ever seeking for a sign. "Never," says Arago, "whatever may be the progress of the sciences, will the *savant* who is conscientious, and careful of his reputation, speculate on a prediction of the weather." Mr. Thompson quotes this remark, and seems to subscribe to it. Still, he has a care for those who have less reputation, and are not afraid of losing it. He tells them that, in the Polish mines of Viclizka, near Cracow, a large block of salt, called Lot's wife, indicates to the miners the hygrometric condition of the atmosphere above. An aurora was seen in New England, Dec. 11th, 1719, (said to have been the earliest witnessed in this country,) which filled the Colonies with consternation. A writer in the Boston News-Letter closes his description of it with these words: — "As to prognostications from it, I utterly abhor and detest them all, and look upon these to be but the effect of ignorance and fancy; for I have not so learned philosophy or divinity as to be dismayed at the signs of heaven; this would be to act the part of a heathen, not of a Christian philosopher."

We have spoken of the general character and contents of the two works under review. It only remains to say a word in regard to their scientific and typographical accuracy. In regard to the work of Mr. Thompson, we have little to add on this point to what has already been said. His book, though not wholly free from errors, chargeable sometimes to the press and sometimes to the author, displays marks of care in all its details. No less praise must be bestowed on the original work of Kaempts. Perhaps we might take exceptions to general statements of facts, which are true only in a limited sense, and when applied to a particular continent. For example, Kaempts says: "Daily experience has long taught us that the air is not equally moist with every wind. When the farmer wishes to dry his corn or his hay, or the housewife spreads out her wet linen, their wishes are soon satisfied if the wind blows continuously, but a much longer time is required with a west wind. Certain operations in dyeing do not succeed unless during east winds." The work of Kaempts contains several elaborate Tables, which will prove useful to the practical meteorologist. A French translation of this book (which was published in 1840) was made in 1843 by Martins, an eminent philosopher who has had large experience in meteorological observations. This trans-

lation is very free, and at the same time so condensed as to imperfectly express the ideas of the original. In some cases it has been made without sufficient care. In one or two instances, more than half a page has been omitted by accident or design: we do not include the changes which Martins notices in his preface. This French translation is the basis of that which we have been reviewing. The English translator, Mr. C. V. Walker, is already known as an author; he edits a scientific magazine, and has himself been engaged in investigations connected with electricity. The translation of this important work of Kaemptsz, which according to the united confession of Martins and Walker is the only complete treatise on meteorology in any language, will not add to his reputation. He adheres to the French idioms and words so closely that the language becomes absurd. In only one instance, so far as we know, has he corrected even an error of the press, (p. 451); and frequently he commits mistakes inexcusable in a translator or a man of science.

On page 105, we read, "But air at 15° being able to contain only $13^{\text{m}}.44$ of vapor, the mixture will have 52 per cent. of vapor of water." This is a literal translation of the French; but the "only," which has no equivalent in the German text, darkens the sense of the passage. On page 121, we read, "When the ascending current relaxes toward evening, the clouds descend; as [et] on arriving into strata of air which are less heated, (*plus chaudes*,) they again pass into the state of invisible vapor." On page 141, a defect in the French text has been copied, without reflection, into the English translation. "During whole days, the sun is invisible in England, whilst a clear sky is extended over continental Europe; in summer it is precisely the contrary." Here is the statement of Kaemptsz: — "*Tage und Stunden vergehen im Winter in England, während welchen die Sonne nicht durch die Wolkendecke dringt, dann hat das Festland häufig das schönste heitere Wetter, während dieses im Sommer*," &c.

On page 156 occurs another passage, in which the English translator blindly follows his blind guide into a greater blunder. "When the sun is very far from the zenith, that is to say, when it is in the northern hemisphere, during the months of December and January, the temperature is relatively very low." The German runs thus: — "*Ist nämlich die Sonne*

am weitesten vom Scheitel entfernt, (also, in der nördlichen Halbkugel im December und Januar) so ist die Wärme am kleinsten ;" which we thus render : — "Is the sun removed to its greatest zenith distance, as is the case in the northern hemisphere in December and January," &c.

An inaccuracy which both our translators share, may be found on page 176. "Annual vegetables, and especially those of the corn tribe act in a different manner. The hardness and vigor of the winter little concerns them. The only thing essential to them is the period during which they are developed ; thus the curves that indicate their northern limits are parallel to the isotherals. *In Norway, barley is cultivated in certain places situated under the 70th degree.* Towards the east, its limit falls southerly, and in Siberia none of the corn tribe are found north of 60°." The German, which corresponds to the part in italics, is : — "*Im innern von Norwegen und Lappland kann noch in einer Breite von 70° Getreide gebaut werden, was an der Meeresküste erst mehrere Grade weiter südlich möglich ist.*" On page 190 is this statement : — "Besides their elevated temperature, these S. W. winds are also distinguished by their moisture, which is such that, in winter, they are almost entirely saturated with the vapor of water ; hence the atmosphere of Europe and America is almost constantly foggy during that season." In the German and French it is, "western Europe and America."

The next case we shall mention is particularly discreditable to Mr. Walker, though the French translation is not perfect. "This is due to the little variation in the height of the sun in the different seasons, and to the difference of the constant sea and aerial currents that prevail in these regions."—p. 194. The French reads thus : *Cela tient à la faible variation de la hauteur du soleil dans les différentes saisons, et à l'influence des courans marins et aériens constans* (sondern in dem früher erwähnte Einflüsse der Passate und Meeresströmungen) *qui regnent dans ces regions.*"

In the next sentence, the English translator has been faithful to the French, but the latter gives any thing rather than the remark of Kaempts. "*Car ainsi que nous l'avons vu, la côté est d'Amérique est rechauffée par un courant équatorial, et la côté ouest rafraîchie par un courant venant du nord.*" In the German it reads : "*Während nämlich neben Americas*

Ostküste das warme Wasser des Aequators fortläuft, und die nördlicher liegenden Punkte etwas erwärmt, finden wir neben Africas Westküste einen von Norden kommenden Meerestrom, welcher die südlicher liegenden Punkte erkaltet."

The French translation of the sentence which follows is equally defective, and the defect mars the English also. On page 205, Mr. Walker translates thus: — "Finally, between six and ten metres, the instrument indicates throughout the day (*pendant toute l'année*) a temperature which is very nearly that of the annual mean."

Again, on page 207: — "If it is collected in a subterranean reservoir, sufficiently deep, that the diurnal variations have no longer any power to act on it, it will acquire a certain degree of temperature. In passing out by any channel, its temperature will be modified by the sides of this conduit; it will, therefore, be reduced in winter and elevated in summer, especially if we think of the great capacity of water for heat." We will say nothing about the inelegance of the first sentence, but give the French of the last. "*En s'écoulant au dehors par un canal, sa température sera modifiée par les parois de ce conduit: elle sera donc abaissée en hiver, élevée en été, surtout si le canal est long et superficiel. Mais dans une source abondante, cette influence se réduit à peu de chose, surtout si l'on songe à la grande capacité de l'eau pour la chaleur.*"

Another blunder meets our eye on page 210. "The law according to which temperature decreases, as to the limits of the atmosphere (*jusqu'aux limites de l'atmosphère*, even to the limits of the atmosphere) is yet unknown." "*Selbst wenn ein Kubikfuss dieser dünnen Luft eben so viel Wärme verschluckt hat,*" is rendered by Mr. Walker, on page 218, in imitation of the French, "even where a cubic metre of this rarefied air has not absorbed more heat than a cubic metre of denser air." "*Ein andere Unterschied zwischen Pflanzen in Höhe und Tiefe zeigt sich in der Lebensdauer der Gewächse,*" is translated literally from the French, "Another difference resides in the duration of the plants."—p. 224.

Again, we read in the German: — "*Wird nun der Luftdruck kleiner, so wird zwar der Gewichtsverlust auf beiden Seiten der Wage geringer, aber diese Verminderung ist für die grosse Kugel grösser und so wird sie schwerer, weshalb sie sinkt.*" Both translators reverse the statement thus: — "If,

then, the pressure diminishes, the weight (it should be loss of weight) of the two bodies, *in equilibrio*, diminishes also ; but that of the sphere diminishes less (it should be *more*) than that of the body ; it will, therefore, be heavier, and will descend.” —p. 237. An inaccuracy of the French text in the numbers which express the temperature correction of the barometer is inadvertently copied by the English translator on page 239.

“*Meine eigenen Messungen in Halle geben für die Wendestunden folgende Momente in wahrer Sonnenzeit in Stunden und Decimalthellen derselben,*” is translated vaguely enough on page 250, in too close imitation of the French, “my series at Halle gives for the tropical instants the following moments in true time and in the decimal parts of an hour.” “*Bis endlich deshalb ein Maximum eintritt, weil die schnelle Abnahme der trockenen Luft ein Uebergewicht erhält,*” is translated literally from the French, on page 272, “and it attains its maximum when the pressure of the air begins to diminish.”

A gross blunder is made by the English translator on page 303. “If this coincidence did (*does*) not occur, then would there be (*are there*) lamentations without end on the inaccuracy of barometers in general, or of accusations against him who should be particular in observing it. It would be more wise to lament that a prejudice on this point could become rooted in the generality of minds.” The correct translation is : “If this coincidence does not occur, then there are lamentations innumerable on the inaccuracy of the barometer in general, or accusations against that one in particular which men have been observing. It would be more wise to mourn over a prejudice which was rooted to such a degree (*à ce point*) in the public mind.”

We pass only to the next page before we stumble upon another error. “For a long time philosophers vainly endeavored to explain the relation by which the two phenomena were connected ; De Luc was the first to point it out in general terms, and although his hypothesis does not induce (*ne soutienne pas une discussion approfondie*) a searching investigation, it is generally adopted.” —p. 304. “*Ganz dasselbe gilt von den Westwinden welche im Sommer so sehr vorherrschten,*” is rendered literally from the French, “The same remark for the west winds which prevail throughout the sum-

mer.”—p. 316. Again, on page 318, we read, “Observers of antiquity, such as Woodward, Wallis, and others, had even (*deja* in French, and *schon* in German) found, &c. On page 320, we read “above” where we should read *below*. In the French it is *audessus*, a misprint for *audessous*; but the English translator faithfully copies it, though the next sentence, if read with care, contradicts it. On page 323, he falls again into the same snare. “We know that the winter of 1829–30 was one of the coldest that had occurred in Europe for a long time; this same winter was so mild in America that there was no ice on the west coast, which permitted Captain Ross to advance so far to the north.” “*Aber dieser Winter war in Nord-America so gelinde, an seine Nordküste war das Eis nicht sehr bedeutend, und Ross konnte deshalb so weit nach Westen gehen.*”

A careless translation on page 327 makes nonsense: “Some ancients considered thunder as produced by emanations arising from the earth. This idea was adopted by many learned men; and although Aristophanes ridiculed it in his comedy of *The Clouds*, yet the fear of the gods always served to weaken it in proportion as the doctrine of Epicurus was the more spread,” “*cependant la crainte des dieux alla toujours en s'affaiblissant à mesure,*” &c. On page 332, Mr. Walker, himself an electrician, adopts the error of the French text, translating “influence” by “induction.” In German it is *Mittheilung*; and this in electricity is the opposite of induction, (*Vertheilung*), as the context is sufficient to show.

A very careless translation arrests attention on page 379. “This table shows that hail falls at all hours of the day, but that it falls more commonly about midday or soon after, at the moment of the greatest diurnal heat. The numbers then diminish in a very regular manner, but at the hours nine and nineteen they are greatest, which might be supposed *a priore*.” Read now the German: “*Diese Tafel zeigt, dass zu allen Zeiten des Tages Hagel gefallen ist, dass er aber zur Zeit der grössten Tageswärme oder etwas nachher am häufigsten ist. Die Zahlen gehen im Allgemeinen ziemlich regelmässig fort, nun um 2 Uhr, 9 Uhr, und 19 Uhr ist die Zahl der Niederschläge etwas grösser, als man es nach den für die benachbarten Stunden gefundenen Grössen erwarten sollte.*” The French translation omits very important parts, though otherwise correct.

The following from page 414, which is literally translated from the French, conveys no idea: "It appears more probable that this rarefaction of the air is limited; for, as each planet draws to itself a part of the atmosphere, refraction, according to a remark made by Wollaston, would be very marked in these planetary atmospheres."* On page 419, another false translation has been copied from the French. "The amplitude of these oscillations, that is to say, the deviations of two successive waves, are not the same for the different rays of the spectrum." "*Die Weite der Excursionen, d. h. der Abstand zweier einander folgenden Wellen, aber ist für die verschiedenen gefärbten Strahlen ungleich.*" On page 427, we read, "The circle No. 4, to which Scoresby assigned a diameter (it should be *semi-diameter*) of about 40° , appeared to be very uncommon; however, (*wenigstens*) I have never seen it more than two or three times in the Alps," &c. The French has the same errors. On page 440 we have *ray* for *radius*; but what is of more importance: — "In gusty weather I have frequently seen rainbows on a blue sky, when drops were falling to the earth, (*sans que les gouttes tombassent sur la terre,*) because they evaporated during their fall." On the last line but three of page 441, we have "*refraction*" for "*reflexion.*"

"*So werden sich beide Bögen dergestalt zeigen, dass jedesmal der Winkel zwischen dem einfallenden und gebrochenen Strahle 41° beträgt,*" is erroneously translated by Martins and Walker, "The two bows will always meet so that the angle between the refracted and the incident ray is 41° ." A moderate acquaintance with terrestrial magnetism would have saved the English translator from another error. "From this point the western declination diminishes; and, at the east of the United States, the needle points exactly to the north pole," &c. — p. 448. "*Und im östlichen Theile der Vereinigten Staaten,*" &c. The French reads, "*a l'orient des Etats-Unis.*"

* Es scheint jedoch wahrscheinlicher, dass diese Ausdehnung der Luft eine bestimmte Gränze habe: denn wäre dieses nicht der Fall, und eignete sich jeder Planet von der durch den ganzen Weltraum verbreiteten Materie einen Theil davon an, wie ihn seine Anziehung erfordert, so müssten die Atmosphären welche auf diese Weise um jeden Planeten gebildet werden, ähnliche Phänomene zeigen, als die uns umgebende Lufthülle, und namentlich müsste nach einer Bemerkung von Wollaston die Strahlenbrechung darin sehr lebhaft seyn."

"*Et n'ont l'apparence d'une masse lumineuse continue que parceque les intervalles sont remplis,*" &c., is translated (p. 456) "and which have not the appearance of a continuous luminosity only because," &c. The plain statement "*Eben so wenig lässt sich angeben, ob die Luftelectricität bei Nordlichtern eine ungewöhnliche Stärke besitzt*" after passing its twofold ordeal, reads thus in English: "It is also equally impossible to say whether the atmospheric electricity is generally more powerful than usual." — p. 461. "*De la force d'impulsion,*" is translated, "the force of the inhalation." — p. 478.

In many passages where the translation has not perverted the sense, it is frequently inelegant and sometimes ungrammatical. Mr. Walker repeatedly translates *anormale*, "anormal;" *isolément*, "isolately;" *chiffre (eine grössse)*, "a figure;" *tres-proprès*, "very suited;" *a la plus grande analogie*, "greatly analogous;" *trop forte*, "higher;" *plus longue*, "larger." On page 450, we have this passage: "Confining ourselves in the study of terrestrial magnetism, in considering the direction of the needle, is only looking upon one part of the question," &c.

We have said enough to show that the present translation of Kaempts's meteorology into English fails essentially of giving the author's opinions, or of teaching the truth. It is so overloaded with errors (only a part of which we have had room to specify,) as not to be a safe guide in the hands of the novice; and in its style we look in vain for that neatness, purity, and elegance of diction, which impart a charm to the paths of severe science no less than to the pleasing walks of literature.

ART. IV. *The History of Ancient Art*. Translated from the German of JOHN WINCKELMANN, by G. HENRY LODGE. Vol. II. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1849. Grand 8vo. pp. 270.

A PROSAIC mind is apt to consider every thing useless which is not practical, and nothing practical which does not minister

to our daily physical wants. Under this view, the Fine Arts are condemned by some as a superfluous product, existing by sufferance, if at all, but of little intrinsic value ; the effeminate offspring, it may be, of passion or sensibility, but not of reason, or judgment, or any of the faculties on which we depend in the weightier affairs of life. By others again, these Arts are discarded as factitious and artificial, in judging of which there is hardly any firmer standard than fashion or caprice. Others still see in them but the trifles which the idle may well enough amuse themselves with to-day, and quite as well forget to-morrow ; or, — looking at them a little more gravely, — see but the dangerous baits which luxury hangs before the people whom she would enervate and ruin.

From these conclusions, it is hardly necessary, in view of the admirable, discriminating, and eloquent work which we have named at the head of our article, to indicate our absolute and unqualified dissent. We feel, nevertheless, the difficulty of speaking about arts, the grander productions of which but few of our readers can have seen, so that the very illustrations of our thoughts need themselves to be explained. But we do not forget that the spirit of art is latent in many a bosom ; that a simple ballad may please us as truly as the *Paradise Lost* ; that the song of our fireside may charm as well as the *Oratorio* ; that if art is to be loved by those alone whose eyes look every day upon the immortal works of the mighty Grecians or Italians, it were a melancholy conclusion indeed for many of us. We gratefully remember, too, that the love of beauty is confined to no locality ; and from far away places, secluded valleys, and quiet villages, unknown to fame, have sprung those who have gladdened the world by their pictures of loveliness and power. The discipline of art is wide and manly ; it supplies that which the mind earnestly and instinctively craves, that without which it is left as dry and juiceless as the stubble of the last year's cornfield ! True, art is always *practical* in the best sense of that abused term. Its products are vigorous or delicate, sublime or beautiful, according to its means and objects ; but under every phase, they are as truly natural as any products of nature. So far from being a mere contrivance for our amusement or pleasure, art springs spontaneously and necessarily from the unrepressed workings of the soul.

It is instructive to remember, that, by the ignorant and unthinking, the same objection is often brought against the highest forms of pure science as against the highest forms of art ; namely, that it is unpractical, speculative, useless. Science is good when it helps us to navigate the ocean, to make railroads, to build houses ; but when it quits these immediately and narrowly useful labors, and ventures into the higher regions, when it investigates the absolute laws of numbers, or the vast principles of geometry, and seems for the time content with the knowledge it discovers, then it is vain and foolish. Such also is the judgment passed upon art. We are dissatisfied and fault-finding because she does not perform what she does not pretend to perform, forgetting that man is most dignified by those powers which separate and distinguish him from every other order in creation ; that the mind often finds its pleasure and reward in the very processes of its development ; and that the minor advantages for which men sometimes pretend to love learning and skill, even the utility and gracefulness of the furniture in their parlors and of the vases upon their shelves, are themselves the products of more recondite studies than the objector ever dreamed of, — of those very studies and arts which he slights or condemns. It is, besides, a law of the mind, that even science itself cannot be studied for its mere economic advantages without the student's failing to understand its spirit and missing its higher aim. The miner, who digs with no other purpose than to accumulate the precious ores and metals, cannot rise to the comprehensive intelligence and wisdom of the geologist, who searches reverently into the secrets of the world's formation. The anatomist, who studies the human frame merely that he may convert his knowledge into a means of more successful livelihood, cannot understand the profounder laws of our being like him who comes with wonder, docility, and love, to discover in the crowning work of the creation, the most surprising and varied proofs of the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator.

This same utilitarian spirit, narrow at first, and of necessity ever contracting, must check every scientific discovery, and if it could rise to the contemplation of beauty at all, would be offended that so many rich and rare things exist where they never can be seen and enjoyed ; — so many flowers opening their brilliant petals for the sun alone to look upon, and wast-

ing their fragrance on the ungrateful air ; so much strength and beauty of beast and bird never recognized ; so many diamonds shut up in inaccessible recesses ; so many pearls that no diver shall discover.

“ Rhodona ! if the sages ask thee why
This charm is wasted on the marsh and sky,
Dear, tell them, that if eyes were made for seeing,
Then beauty is its own excuse for being.
Why thou wert there, O rival of the rose,
I never thought to ask, I never knew ;
But in my simple ignorance suppose,
The selfsame power that brought me there brought you.”

Man liveth not by bread alone. That is useful, we cheerfully grant, which ministers to our comfort, averts calamities, and subjects the elements to our control. But is that less so which makes us more intelligent and rejoicing witnesses of the myriad ways of Providence, — which encourages and cultivates reverence and purity, self-devotion and faith? All that widens and multiplies the fields of knowledge, that inspires a reasonable curiosity, (the mother of enterprise,) that renders the mind more subtle, discriminating, and discursive, and that preëminently, which most completely insures the control of the intellectual and moral over the physical and sensuous, is useful in the best sense.

Art, indeed, does not occupy itself about the common and the trivial, and is not apt to estimate the ordinary aims of labor or ambition as of the highest consequence ; but rather is inclined to postpone artificial distinctions to those which are inward, essential, and permanent. So far, it may not be prudent. But we doubt whether the charge against artists, of a want of practical talent, be a just one. They, unfortunately, have been compelled to exercise as much ingenuity in getting their daily bread as most men ; and if they have not lived in luxury, it has been, sometimes at least, because they have striven for something better. Recall to mind the grander ministers of art. We suspect that Phidias and Praxiteles, Michael Angelo and John of Bologna, Raphael and Titian, could handle a chisel or file, a saw or brush, as neatly as any stonemason or house-painter of our day. The fact is, that during the centuries when art flourished most, none were such practical mechanics as the painters and sculptors. They were civil engineers, and architects, and constructors of military engines. They built palaces and churches, planned fortifications, erected fountains,

defended cities. Leonardo da Vinci was learned in almost every science, and accomplished in almost every art. When Florence was besieged, in 1529, by the Emperor Charles V. and the Pope Clement VII., Michael Angelo was appointed director-general of the fortifications; seventeen or eighteen years later, he was raised to the post of architect of St. Peter's. The very scaffoldings which he erected when painting his great frescoes, were so ingeniously contrived that they form one element of his fame. Benvenuto Cellini, that prince of goldsmiths and silversmiths, boasted that, at the siege of Rome, he himself pointed the cannon, which, at one discharge, killed the Constable of Bourbon, and at another, the Prince of Orange. To these ordinary or extraordinary labors, they descended with spirits kindling with the enthusiasm familiar to their higher calling. They, indeed, according to the judgment of their time, were men with little about them that was effeminate or weak. Companions of princes, scholars, and soldiers, whatever was great, or learned, or perilous, they shared in, and made it greater still, more full of earnestness and of wisdom. Because of their manner of life, too, in part, they became what they did. They were far enough from growing up in the shade or within the protected enclosure. They breathed the free air of the camp and the court, as well as that of the closet and the studio. Storms as well as sunshine beat upon them. In the perilous days when some of them lived, it was literally true, that the sword often lay beside the pencil and the canvas. Nearly all the great painters, sculptors, and architects were thrown into the very centre of the exciting life of their age, and made a part, — how great a part! — of its spirit and glory.

It is indeed a problem, why, in the sixteenth century, the fine arts so suddenly reached an eminence which has baffled all subsequent effort; but the problem finds a counterpart in several eras of literary history, as striking as anywhere, perhaps, in the drama of Greece and of England; and it only renders the genius of the artists the more noticeable. After ever so careful an inquiry, we might be obliged to let more than half the solution of the question rest on the fact, that genius is incomprehensible, and however directed by circumstances, is not created by them, and must remain a mystery even to itself.

In illustrating quite generally some of what may be called

the educational effects of the fine arts, it is hardly necessary to pause for a rigorous definition of them. It will be enough to consider them as aiming at the production of ideal grandeur or beauty. Art seeks to preserve and to create. It seizes upon the exquisite shapes and hues which are so fragile, the strength and glory of which are mortal, and half rescues them from the power of insatiable time. From ordinary scenes it plucks the covering of vulgar life, and reveals the soul of beauty. The true artist loves art for its own sake, and is satisfied with the ample reward which it brings him. With sympathy or without it, and it may be as often without as with, he struggles onward to realize his ideal. "My friend," said that greatest of modern sculptors, Thorwaldsen, to one who 'found him in a glow, almost a trance, of creative energy,' "my dear friend, I have an idea, I have a work in my head which will be worthy to live. A lad had been sitting to me sometime as a model yesterday, when I bade him rest awhile. In so doing, he threw himself into an attitude which struck me very much. What a beautiful statue it would make! I said to myself. But what would it do for? It would do—it would do—it would do exactly for Mercury, drawing his sword just after he has played Argus to sleep. I immediately began modelling. I worked all the evening, till at my usual hour I went to bed. But my idea would not let me rest. I was forced to get up again. I struck a light and worked at my model for three or four hours; after which I again went to bed. But again I could not rest; again I was forced to get up, and have been working ever since. O, my friend, if I can but execute my idea, it will be a glorious statue."* Something like this is ever true of the creative artist. He sings, paints, sculptures, because he cannot help it. He cannot sleep,— "his idea will not let him sleep." To labor for hire merely reduces the art to a trade. That is the cool calculating process of traffic, not the birth-throe of genius. His art, indeed, must often be a means of livelihood; yet even then, how inadequate the compensation, sometimes from the ignorance or stolidness of the buyer, sometimes from the want of any standard by which to estimate the product, or of coin to exchange for it. Who can estimate the worth to England, to

* See that delightful book, *Guesses at Truth*. 3d edition, 1st series, p. 82.

the world, of the *Paradise Lost*? Who compute its ever increasing power to expand, elevate, refine, and purify the intelligence of a people? Five pounds were truly about as near the mark as five thousand or five million. He who works for pay merely is an artisan, not an artist; a manufacturer, not a creator; he suits the tastes of his patrons, and produces what will sell, not a new form of beauty, not an ideal of character, no Apollo, no Transfiguration, no Othello.

In judging of the influence of art, we may look at it historically, or, by studying its nature, attempt to determine what faculties it educates, and what wants it supplies. We may regard it as affecting that general national culture, which we at once recognize wherever found; or as touching the eye, ear, tongue, hand, heart of every man, moulding his sentiments and thoughts, directing his affections, enriching his enjoyments, enlarging the circle of his intellectual action, elevating his aim, and gilding his hopes. Can a people be found of the smallest advancement in knowledge who have not produced, at least, some semblance of painting or sculpture, to say nothing of poetry, the earliest though grandest product of human thought? or of music, the instinctive language of emotion? Does not every tribe which has exhibited the rudest element of culture, at once and by instinct, as we might say, produce (unless restrained like the Turks and Arabs, by a religious dogma,) a picture or an image, some mute prophecy of a higher art?

If culture of necessity produces art, so, on the other hand, the existence of art is demonstrative evidence of refinement and skill. Roaming solitary through an eastern desert, (for the swarthy Bedouin who guides his camel is no companion,) the traveller, at the close of a weary day, beholds the distant palm grove, and rising from it, the pillars of a once magnificent temple. Approaching it, he finds its crumbling columns still supporting fragments of the adorned frieze, while figures in marble, — men, maidens, and divinities, — still cling to the tottering pediment. He is among ruins where “sorrow and glory meet together.” He enters the enclosed chambers, and upon the dusky walls discerns forms which the limners, with divine skill, portrayed there two thousand years ago. He digs in the sands, which, in mockery of man, have enveloped and enshrouded palace and market-place, and brings up again from their graves the matchless forms of Pentelic or Parian

marble which once graced the baths, villas, and homes of a people about whom history is nearly silent. In this lack of history, what judgment will the traveller instinctively form of this Tadmor of the desert? What but that Zenobia, or one like her, and a people worthy of so magnificent a queen, once dwelt there? Does he not, in the play of fancy, reconstruct those august edifices, retouch the paintings, restore the statues, bid the centuries roll back, and again gather in the theatre the joyful and refined crowd, lead the solemn procession around the temples, listen to the discourses of philosophers, go to the workshops even, handle the chisel and the hammer, and hear the clink and ring of the steel as the master chips off the petrified shroud which from the beginning has held his faun, his hero, and his goddess concealed? Could he, by any perversion of mind, suppose, that he was standing among the sepulchres of an ignorant or rude people? or that "barbaric pearl and gold" had left such relics? These are not the remains of barbarism. A people who could have produced such things must have been intelligent, accomplished, subtle, and skilful. So unhesitatingly, so clearly, and confidently do we read the mind of the discriminating, versatile, imaginative Greek in the Parthenon, the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the Apollo, the Niobe, and the Medicean Venus. Just as conclusively do we read that of the domineering, imperial Roman in his aqueducts, amphitheatres, his stone bridges, and military roads. We could draw no more true or more direct inference of the military purposes of people from the existence of a well-built fort or man-of-war, or of their practical and commercial skill from a ship, a railroad, or a manufactory.

If, from general observations like these, we turn to the narrower field of art in its influence upon the culture of the individual student, we shall find no contradictory result. It may be necessary to remember, that, as the method of art is the reverse of that of science, so its mode of teaching is quite unlike the scientific; so unlike indeed, as often to be misunderstood, or overlooked, or supposed to be no teaching at all. "What does it prove," has often been the edifying inquiry, felt if not expressed, on the exhibition of a masterpiece of art. The question proves many things, however it may be with the picture which provokes it; it proves that the inquirer does not distinguish between art and science, and would bring the for-

mer to the tests of the latter ; that he would virtually reduce the action of the mind to that of the mere understanding, and its enjoyments to the mere acquisition of knowledge, — of knowledge, too, not always the most profound, but, it may be, quite empirical.

Science separates and distinguishes, art combines ; the process of the one is analytic, of the other synthetic. Science discovers, art produces ; science ends in the abstract, art in the concrete. Science reduces the complex being, man, to his elements, separates soul from body, divides soul into faculties, and body into bones and muscles, tissues and fluids, resolves these, too, into earths, alkalis, and gases, and stops there only because unable to go farther. Art, so far as it can in obedience to its necessary laws, reconstructs the mysterious being, perfect in form, strength, enjoyment, and life. Art spreads before us a gorgeous landscape, the forests all tinged with autumnal glories ; science demonstrates the concealed something which has changed, as in the twinkling of an eye, the soft verdure to those inimitable splendors. Art, like nature, her guide and mistress, presents us with objects complete and many-sided, and, in proportion as she does this well, approaches her ideal limits. Science demonstrates, art reveals. Art speaks to our sentiments, affections, passions ; science, to the understanding and reason. Art often depends on science for the safest, surest, and truest realization of its ideal ; science as often depends on art for the wisest and most effective exhibition of its discoveries. They move in separate but harmonious spheres, which it were no less foolish than false to confound. Each needs the help of the other, in a certain measure, for the fulfilment of its own purposes. Science teaches directly and formally ; art, indirectly and informally. It often reaches the head through the heart ; it proves a truth by an exhibition of its effects.

How many of our purer sentiments and affections, of our grander and sterner purposes, — how much, indeed, of the best part of our moral education, comes from that unconscious cultivation, which we owe not to our employed teachers, (it lies far beyond their power,) but to our circumstances ; to a thoughtful mother, who instilled so many beautiful lessons when we never dreamed of study ; to the picture on the wall, shedding upon us its silent but powerful influence through all

the impressible years of childhood ; to the fine poem we became familiar with ; to the silent, awful, friendly mountain, which overshadowed our dwelling ; to the restless, restless sea, which never ceased to moan and murmur upon the beach before the door !

It may be shown very conclusively, we think, that in all symmetrical education there is need of a study of art in some of its forms, to counteract the effect of dwelling exclusively upon the processes of science. In eloquence, for example, important as is argument, the form of the argument must be rhetorical, and not barely logical. So in practical philosophy, and even in theology, is it not possible that false conclusions have been formed from thinking that man acts from the parts of his nature into which we have dissected him ; from forgetting the frequent complexity of motives ; from our habit of anatomizing the soul and studying it in its dead and dried fragments, instead of regarding it in full life and health, and considering the verities of religion as adapted to it, and insuring, when received, the highest expansion of the soul ? It is, at least, worthy of notice, that the Scriptures present for our instruction the living examples and not abstractions ; Moses, David, and Daniel, and not dogmatic precepts on the characteristics of a law-giver, prince, or premier.

Were it but to cultivate a habit of enlarged and accurate observation and delicate discrimination, a habit which may be carried over from objects of beauty or grandeur to all the ordinary affairs of life, it would be no small thing that the study of art would do for us. Indeed, as not only the perceptive, but the reflective, powers are largely demanded in the artist, so the study of his works must in turn cultivate these powers ; and a facility and accuracy in severer pursuits, as well as a sensitive taste, a quick perception of proprieties, and a judgment in graver matters almost instinctively accurate, may spring from the discipline of these beautiful studies.

A source of constant enjoyment, not the least intense, nor the least innocent, and free to everybody, is found in a watchful and sympathizing regard of nature. It is a pleasure, to the extent that every acquisition of knowledge is so, to learn the mere facts of nature, the shapes of leaves, the color and forms of grasses ; and a habit of watchfulness of the outward world is a pretty certain assurance of a well-informed man.

But far greater is the pleasure and the reward of the philosophic mind which arranges and classifies, as well as receives; which, in the exhaustless fertility and variety of nature, sees the vigorous working of her mysterious but regulated powers, and in her anomalies even, perceives evidences of undiscovered laws, prophets of a future revelation.

To him who watches nature with a cultivated eye and a sympathizing spirit, she speaks a language how various and how friendly! Every cloud-shadow chasing its fellow over the plain, every babbling brook, every waving field of grain, all varieties of hill and dale, mountain and forest, the woods in spring and the woods in autumn, the endless changes of light and shade, gorgeous clouds and solemn ocean, — all are significant. Nature talks with herself; she talks also to him, her lover and friend. “Deep calleth unto deep.” “The trees of the field do clap their hands.” Forest nods to forest, wave embraces wave. He who is thus watchful of nature comes to recognize in all her forms his many friends. He will wait hopefully for their coming, and bid them farewell in sorrow. Apostrophe and personification are the natural utterances of the heart.

By a law of our being, we are ever projecting our own feelings into the outward world, and thus rendering it instinct with life, a companion which never disputes nor blames, nor misjudges, — never obtrudes, nor dogmatizes, yet restrains, guides, and instructs; and all this the more effectually, because operating so variously, so gently, so constantly. It is a fact in practical astronomy, we believe, that the eye needs a careful discipline before it can perceive the more delicate phenomena of the heavens. The ear just as truly requires long culture before it can detect the varieties of sound in a large orchestra, or disentangle the complex and intricate web of harmony in the oratorio. As truly do eye and ear, when directed to sights and sounds in nature, need a preliminary discipline before we can receive full enjoyment or profit. To the man of common observation, all forests, for example, are nearly alike. But when he learns the shapes and characters of trees, how the limbs, like the arms in gestures, from different shapes and directions, are differently expressive, how they are modified, too, by foliage and color and grouping, each forest comes to have for him an articulate and intelligible language. The

traveller who stands for the first time upon Table Rock, is overwhelmed with the grand continuous roar of the cataract ; but, by and by, he becomes conscious of lesser sounds and of many varieties. Listening attentively, he distinguishes the hissing rush of the rapids, the dashing of the superficial currents against each other, and even the tinkling of the little rills which stray out from the edge of the vast current, and fall over the precipice by the side of it as playfully as if all alone. The sounds of all waters are gathered into one to form the harmony of the grandest diapason of the world.

To recognize and love the beauties of nature requires a peculiar moral culture ; nor is this the less true of art. In music, a simple melody is the most widely popular, because best understood. So in painting, a trivial, common, even vulgar, subject may attract the eye of the uncultivated, when the loftier and poetic will be unnoticed. Glaring and obtrusive colors please him whom a modest and truthful representation will not attract for a moment. A Dutch kitchen, or the interior of a stable, by the patient and exact pencil of a Fleming, will delight many an observer more than the St. Jerome or the Transfiguration ; will delight them, too, because the subject is so easily apprehended and so exactly treated, and not because of the peculiar artistic excellences which have given the Flemish school, in all its varieties, a deathless fame. In both nature and art, not he who has opportunities merely, but he whose senses, and affections, and intellect have been fully cultivated, appreciates and enjoys.

How many of the most delightful pictures of nature come from our poets, — pictures which may have been a thousand times before our eyes, but which we never saw till the poet gave us light and life, but which, henceforth, we shall ever behold ; pictures where the visible and audible mingle with the imaginative, and so double our vision and our enjoyment, and we become like the man in the Arabian tale, on whose eyes the magician rubbed an ointment, and he at once looked through the thick dirt and rubbish upon all the gems and gold of the earth. Who that has read the verse of Shakspeare —

“How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank” —

can forget it, or fail to see a new beauty in the reality ?

“The horse that guide the golden eye of heaven,
And blow the morning from their nostrils,
Making their fiery gait above the clouds —”

in the words of Marlowe, is a picture almost as full of life as the Aurora of Guido or Guercino. It would be superfluous to illustrate this point farther.

Thousands have looked upon the paintings of Claude and Salvator, of Guido and Domenichino, and have seen none of the beauties which yet are there, or only those most prominent and common, until some poet, or artist with a poet's spirit, has stood like a prophet to declare the interpretation of the symbols, to reveal the *mind* of him who thus in colors and shapes embodied his great conceptions. So mysteriously is the divine secret wrapped up in every great work of genius, open though it seems to lie to the gaze of all the world. We are naturally, then, led to notice the power of the imagination to create and idealize a power which finds its chief play in the Fine Arts. To some, perhaps, the bare mention of such a function may seem to betray an unhappy leaning to the unreal and untrue. This conclusion will, we trust, be corrected by a better understanding of the subject. That is a mind of extreme narrowness and obtuseness, which considers the *imaginative* as the contrary of the true and synonymous with the *false*. Opposed to the *actual* it indeed is, and to that opposition owes, in part, its benign power. Raphael and Michael Angelo have been called the "two great sovereigns of the two distinct empires of Truth,—the actual and the imaginative."

It is the purpose of all art to be thoroughly true; and it is unreal only in the sense of not always absolutely restricting itself by any given and particular form of nature, or fact of history. It is really most true to the heart, to the grander lessons it aims at, and to the broader and essential features of the scene represented, when it sometimes forgets or disregards the minor and unimportant facts. This is so, partly because every art must be limited by the special objects which it aims to accomplish, and by the means which it is compelled to employ, and partly because it aims at an ideal perfection, which, though shadowed forth in nature, is never actually found. Art seeks to realize that of which nature is prophetic; nor is this aim really different from what is, or ought to be, the aim of every one in life. We need an ideal in learning and in teaching, in character and in action. The mind

which has none is uncertain, and without enthusiasm, and is also destitute of one of the strongest aids to the highest attainment. That creative genius, even, pauses somewhat in its course, whose works are fully up to its idea. A friend of Thorwaldsen once found him in low spirits, and having asked him if any thing had distressed him, the sculptor replied: "My genius is decaying." "What do you mean?" asked the visitor. "Why; here is my statue of Christ," (a work, we may say, of amazing beauty, and serene sublimity); "it is the first of my works that I have ever felt satisfied with. Till now, my idea has always been far beyond what I could execute. But it is no longer so. I shall never have a great idea again." *

In order to realize any thing great or good in character, influence, or productions, man must struggle unceasingly for a more perfect future. He *must* be dissatisfied with the present. He needs an ideal to elevate him above vulgar thoughts, to sustain him amid the thousand depressing influences to which he is subjected, — an ideal, without which there would be no reformation, no discoveries, no grand improvements. One of the great moral influences of the imagination, rightly directed, is thus to inspire the soul with better resolutions, by picturing before it scenes such as nature never, or only in her rarest moods, affords, yet which we feel to be profoundly true. An ideal is necessary to keep the actual up to a tolerable standard. Without it, the race would sink, not at once, but gradually and surely. We need some exhibition of perfect justice, goodness, and truth, so that these fundamental moral virtues shall be neither forgotten nor counterfeited. Beauty must be portrayed by art, more radiant even than in nature, that our notion of beauty may not fail. It will not do to trust to the actual realization of it in a world of storms, and accidents, and infinite disorder. Were we contented to copy the actual, it is hardly extravagant to say, that we might in time come to look on deformity itself as beautiful, and the Apollo, with the fire and high disdain of the god upon his brow, might be put out of countenance by the flat head and stretched lip of the Oregon Indian. Something like this, and

* *Guesses at Truth*, 1st ser., 3d. ed., p. 83.

not much less strange, has been seen in the vagaries of fashion, which occasionally has sanctioned those deformities of the great which no skill could remedy.

Let us here look for a moment at the creative power of genius. The artist is not a mere mechanician, adroitly to unite materials which another may join still more skilfully; nor a discoverer merely, with his modicum of knowledge, to be superseded by another, whose profounder researches put to shame his comparative ignorance, or invalidate his conclusions; but an originator, a creator, in the highest sense in which those terms can be applied to a finite mind; and when, in obedience to the master's command, there stands before us some marvellous embodiment of a mysteriously awful conception, some new and genuine form of beauty, strength, grace, passion, sentiment, some vagrant and ethereal vision of loveliness, never revealed before, — some strange demonstration of human hopes or passions amid the mighty realities of a world where "truth is stranger than fiction," we see what cannot be superseded, cannot grow old. The Prometheus, the Parthenon, the Dying Gladiator, the Transfiguration, Hamlet — all are as fresh as on their natal morn; they cannot die; they cannot grow old; they do not belong to the domain of time; they have all of immortality that human works can have, *ἄφθαρτα ἐς αἰεὶ*. Why is this, we ask? They are products of those high faculties which, in their nature, are emancipated from time and space, whose aim is the absolute, the permanent, the eternal; faculties which, boldly and intensely exhibited in another, tend, by a mysterious sympathy, to awaken the same in us. Well may we catch some of their enthusiasm, whose life was so full of vivid thought and emotion. Nor is this general vivifying power of the highest art its least important function. If it were only that art exhibits the peculiar and expressive features of past ages and people, it would be invaluable; but when it becomes the living vehicle of thoughts and feelings common to the universal heart of the race, he were indeed a simpleton who should despise it, — a Vandal or a Goth who would destroy.

Let us never forget the earnest, patient toil, and the intense action of the minds which have produced such works. By some, art has been looked upon mainly as a sport and recreation; but so its masters have never thought of it. Was it a

play to him, "the mighty sovereign of the ideal," whose nearly fourscore and ten years found him still meditating new works in his favorite arts? or to him, who, dying at thirty-seven, had filled Italy with representations of beauty, and grace, and power, which none have excelled, none rivalled? Or (not to overburden the catalogue,) to him among ourselves, painter, poet, philosopher, who was so suddenly, and for us, but not for himself, untimely, summoned away from this lower sphere, leaving the paint still fresh on that immortal canvas, where he was striving to depict that august and fearful scene when the Babylonish monarch shrinks back aghast at the fire-traced words which foretell his doom? Were these, and their compeers of the elder or the later days, but at play, and not rather working with the full strength and energy and majesty of the intellects they were endowed with? Then is it mere holiday business, riotous delight even, to write histories and poems, to foretell the courses of the stars and the ways of men, to navigate fleets, fight battles, govern empires, to do any thing which, being well done, has hitherto made men famous. To look upon the monuments erected by the joyful toil of the past, whether to commemorate achievements, or as the necessary products of overflowing minds, how does it enlarge the soul? How it emancipates us from the tyranny of the present, to live for a time in the ages that are past, and with the men who bent the stern energy of their minds to the great legacy which they left, of thought and feeling springing in them through the multiplied influences of the times, and wrought out by them for the instruction and joy of many generations.

He who for the first time enters into the world of art, and becomes conscious of its objects and its power, feels as if he had begun to live a new life. Every latent sympathy seems to have caught fire; new ties bind him to nature and to life. He unconsciously is stretching and grasping for the unattained, the perfect, the infinite. He is above the level of mere knowledge. Unawares he has been raised into the sphere of passion, of beauty, of goodness and truth, and therefore of power. He approaches the ideas of what is truly noble and grand and excellent.

There is another function of the imagination, by which we are led to see in every outward manifestation an evidence of

an inward spiritual agency, so that the otherwise feeble and trivial and insignificant are clothed with a certain celestial glory. To one, indeed, "the primrose by the river's brim, a yellow primrose is" *and nothing more; to another, it is suggestive of thoughts world-wide.

"To me, the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

It is altogether a common-place and inert mind, of the nature of a brute's, indeed, which sees no uses in the world but those which minister to our physical comforts, no glories in the creation above those of simple sensation. The imagination rarely sees objects in their simple nakedness, but clothed and in company. Hence, to an imaginative mind, the picture and the statue are symbols, expressive of far more than meets the eye. The yet and forever unfinished, semi-colossal statues of evening and morning, night and day, by Michael Angêlo, in the new sacristy of the church of San Lorenzo at Florence, have been finely called (by a critic of great taste and feeling and eloquence, when he has not a special and unworthy end to serve,) "four ineffable types, not of darkness nor of day, not of morning nor evening, but of the departure and resurrection, the twilight and the dawn of the soul of man." And he goes on, (this same critic,) after naming several works of this king of sculptors, painters, architects, "All these, and all else that I could name of his forming, have borne, and in themselves retain and exercise, the same inexplicable power, — inexplicable, because proceeding from an imaginative perception almost superhuman, which goes where we cannot follow, and is where we cannot come." * Were we to follow out this topic, it would be easy to show by most pertinent illustrations what courses of thought are awakened in an imaginative mind by the presence of an original work; how fine as gossamer are the threads of association which bind thought to thought, yet how strong. Figure after figure rises before us, and the cold and motionless statue upon which we look becomes an enchanter to awaken in us powers of whose existence we had not been aware, and to evoke ideal scenes which fill us with surprise and awe.

* *Mod. Painters*, vol. 2.

Each art has a grand and peculiar power which none can wield who is not great in knowledge, in feeling, in the recognition of profound ideas, as well as often in the lower departments of mechanical adroitness and skill. Provinces have become famous because of the artists who dwelt in them; wanderers from every zone have bent their willing steps towards a city or village through the mysterious attraction of a picture or a statue. To think of Michael Angelo and Raphael, of Velasquez and Rubens, as of the same exalted fellowship with Dante, and Tasso, and Milton, once seemed to us preposterous; but we do not think so now. Painters, and sculptors, and architects, if they have an advantage over the poet in vividness of representation, in vividness of a single impression, have this signal disadvantage, that they cannot send their works to the home of every genial mind, and win their easy way to countless hearts in far-off lands and distant generations. They cannot, to any great extent, repeat their productions. While the poet is the companion of everybody, and his winged words fly through all mouths, *they* must trust their fame to history and tradition and criticism. Engraving, though an invaluable aid in disseminating some general knowledge of their works, and standing to the other arts somewhat as printing to writing, is itself an art which demands great talent, almost genius, and therefore is too rare and costly to be used with the utmost freedom; and, besides, it of necessity fails in some peculiarity of every other art whose works it imitates. It can neither give the color of painting, nor the grandeur and various aspects of sculpture and architecture.

The mind of Raphael and Guido we cannot fairly read except at Bologna or Rome; nor that of Michael Angelo but at Rome or Florence; nor of Salvator Rosa but at Florence or Naples; nor of Titian, Paul Veronese, and Tintoretto, but at Venice. Elsewhere we may, indeed, see their works, but we get no adequate idea of their various power and grandeur; it is like studying Shakspeare in his sonnets, or Milton in his *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. Few have had the Bæotian satisfaction of the Roman Consul, who compelled the master of the ship which carried the precious spoils of art from Greece to Italy to give bonds, if he should lose them, to furnish others as good. The artist can thus speak to but comparatively few, but to them with unrivalled power, a power which cannot be ex-

pressed, cannot be understood, until felt ; and which, until then, it seems much like affectation to speak of. But how many, (to illustrate our thought by that art to which we have scarcely referred,) have walked beneath the colonnades of the Parthenon, the arches of the cathedrals at Antwerp, at Rouen, at Strasburg, with inexpressible awe, — with feelings subdued, softened, humbled. These are not mere piles of brick and mortar, not mere structures for convenience or shelter ; but edifices whose expressive forms have grown up from the vital working of an indwelling spirit, — emblems of stability, of heavenward aspirations, of religious faith. Ages are bound together by them ; on the same foot-worn stones have walked and kneeled ten, twenty, fifty generations. The venerable structures belong to no time, are emancipated from the frivolities of fashion and the frailty of man, and stand as emblems of eternal truths. The petty interests of the day, the squabbles of fiercest rivals, the contentions of great parties and sects have all sunk to oblivion ; but the ideas of Ictinus and Brunelleschi, embodied in these masses of imperishable material wrought together with unwearied patience and the most cunning skill, are still vital and efficacious, and speak to every heart as earnestly, as affectingly, as at the beginning.

How many millions have found in the Apollo, the Niobe, the Moses, the Transfiguration, a revelation of beauty, or sorrow, or authority, or supernatural glory, which they never before conceived of. Who that, without expecting much, or without knowing what to expect, has stood for the first time before the Crucifixion, by Tintoretto, at Venice, can ever forget the tempestuous rush of emotions which swept through his soul at the sight of that amazing picture. Who that has seen the Greek Slave has not felt that “there has lighted on this orb” a being almost of another sphere, — of this world and yet above it, — exposed in the market, yet above the possibility of degradation ; and by the awful power of innocence and beauty and pious resignation, shutting the mouth of heartlessness, and awing sensuality itself into the semblance of purity. Those who have seen these things are held by a spell which they may not comprehend, but which they cannot break, and would not if they could, and which, every moment, grows stronger and stronger. Nay more, they seem to have entered

a new world, with new sources of instruction and delight. Faculties seem to burst into life which had lain dormant from their birth, but now are clamorous for their appropriate aliment, and in their very action raise their possessor to a higher and freer region, and seem to have carried him nearer the realization of his great birthright as a son of God and heir of immortality.

In speaking thus of the culture derived from art, we have barely indicated a line of thought which may be followed out to far richer and more complete results. The subject rightfully demands a development of the influences of art on different orders of mind; its conservative power — its liberalizing and harmonizing influences — its effect on the poetic faculties — its prompting to earnest thought — its power for generous culture in the city and in the schools, — and (what might be especially wished) its power in cultivating a pure taste — in beautifying our homes and rendering them more attractive, and in serving as a counterpoise to ruder, or vulgar, or less innocent means of enjoyment — in helping us to see more clearly and constantly the beauty with which God has clothed the world; inspiring thoughts of gentleness and charity, making us interested and happy in something besides the vehement and often embittered contest of parties and sects, or the hard watchfulness and toil of the struggle for wealth. So might it be more strongly recommended to many minds as of great efficacy and of unexpectedly wide utility.

Without expanding these considerations, we may briefly refer to one other point, namely, that the highest art helps us to form an ideal of excellence still higher than it represents. There is a beauty higher than Raphael ever conceived of, a sublimity grander than Buonaroti ever strove to portray. To the conception of them we may never attain here, but through their aid we may approach the goal where even they can no longer be our masters. Were it not for their labors, we should never have entered upon the field of their glory; but from a profound and reverent contemplation of them, we come to anticipate something still more wonderful. There begins to whisper within us a prophecy of futurity. Still more, we begin to feel that the highest beauty, unmarred by evil, can only be discovered and represented by a virtuous soul, and that, in proportion as the great painters have been imbued with reli-

gious ideas has been the sublime excellence of their works. Here, where art rises and melts into something better,—where, failing to realize that which it strives for, it yields to a greater spiritual power of which it *may* be an ally, we may with propriety leave the subject just where to many minds it opens the most interesting view.

Art alone will save no people ; let Italy witness, if witness be needed ; but may it not retard their fall, and if prostrate, help to restore ? Even in that impoverished and sad country, does not her art elevate and dignify even what it cannot renovate, and the memory of her mediæval glory do more than half that is done to inspire her best minds with purest, most patriotic purposes, and to redeem all minds from something of the sorrow and degradation to which they have been exposed ?

Art alone will not afford a complete culture to the individual, nor should its influence ever be mistaken as moral or religious in the highest sense. We should be extremely sorry to be so misunderstood. It brings to every one, indeed, a peril proportioned to its advantages ; but there is a work of great consequence which it may do in educating the soul for a higher life ; and he who hangs one really fine picture on his wall does something to refine and elevate his tastes, to fit himself for the intenser enjoyment of nature, to elevate his ideal of excellence, to expand and cultivate his highest faculties, to adorn and bless his daily life, and towards the acquisition and maintenance of the most beautiful character.

We have been beguiled (much too far our readers may think) along a pleasant way ; but must return for a few moments, before we quite transgress our limits, to the volume immediately before us. The main events in the life of Winckelmann,—his early familiarity with Greek literature, his profound and philosophical study of ancient art, and his untimely death by assassination at Trieste,—are doubtless familiar to most of our readers. His works, though often referred to, have been less generally studied by the English reader from difficulty of access. That difficulty, with respect to a portion of his works, is now removed, and so felicitously too, that whoever glances, however cursorily, at this beautiful volume, will be strongly tempted to make it his own, and to study it with care. Where the whole appearance of the book is so admirable, and marks, in the very beauty of its typography, the

superintendence of a liberal and cultivated mind ; when its illustrations, too, go far beyond the original German editions, it seems like ingratitude, or an avaricious desire for all excellence within the narrowest limits, to ask for any thing more ; yet had it been possible to give outlines, or partially filled engravings of a few more of the world-famous statues, of the Apollo, the Niobe, and the Laocöon, for example, the usefulness as well as beauty of the volume would have been considerably increased, and we should have had absolutely *nothing* to wish for. As it is, the lovers of art are under great obligations to Dr. Lodge, obligations which we should be glad to see repaid far more liberally than we fear they will be.

The present volume is the second of the original series, and contains Books IV. and V., *Art among the Greeks*. Should the remaining volumes be published, we are sure that they will be hailed by an increasing number of readers with great delight. More than three quarters of a century has not superannuated the criticisms of Winckelmann, but for the most part confirmed them. We had marked several passages for quotation ; but the length of our discussion obliges us to content ourselves with one which shows most distinctly the philosophical character of the critic, and contains wise and essential directions to all observers of art.

“ Seek not to detect deficiencies and imperfections in works of art, until you have previously learnt to recognize and discover beauties. This admonition is the fruit of experience ; of noticing daily that the beautiful has remained unknown to most observers, — who can see the shape, but must learn the higher qualities of it from others, — because they wish to act the critic, before they have begun to be scholars. It is with them as with school-boys, all of whom have wit enough to find out their instructor’s weak point. Vanity will not allow them to pass by satisfied with a moderate gaze ; their self-complacency wants to be flattered ; hence they endeavor to pronounce a judgment. But as it is easier to assume a negative than an affirmative position, so imperfections are much more easily observed and found than perfections, and it requires less effort and trouble to criticize others than to improve oneself.” p. 194.

Were this rule but observed, how much harsh, shallow, and utterly valueless criticism would be avoided !

We cannot look at this work and others recently published,

including especially, as among the most prominent in different departments and with different methods, the (London) Art Journal. and the eloquent volumes of Mr. Ruskin, (much as we dissent from some of that gentleman's criticisms,) without the satisfactory feeling that the English student of art never before had access to so adequate means of cultivating his taste and knowledge. And when we call to mind the works of some of our own artists, of Allston and Greenough and Powers, not to name others, we rejoice in the evidence they give that the broad significance of art is better than ever before understood amongst us; that here, too, beauty is seen and loved, — beauty instinct with goodness and truth.

ART. V. — *The Ways of the Hour; a Tale.* By J. FENIMORE COOPER, Author of "The Spy," "The Red Rover," &c. New York: George P. Putnam. 1850. 12mo. pp. 512.

MR. COOPER as a novelist is but the ghost of his former self. He committed literary suicide at least ten years ago; and the volume now before us, though it bears his name, certainly affords no proof of his resurrection, or the restoration of his faculties. We are provoked enough to doubt the asseveration of the title page; *The Ways of the Hour* is *not* written by the author of *The Spy*; it is a lame and impotent caricature of that author's manner, exhibiting and exaggerating all his faults, but showing none of his excellencies, and not animated by one spark of his genius. With some glaring defects of manner, with ill-jointed and most improbable plots, feeble delineations of character, and an abundance of prosy conversations, the earlier fictions of *that* author still showed so many striking merits, as fairly to carry for him, for a while, the title of *the American novelist*. His strength consisted chiefly in his descriptive power and his skill as a narrator. Many of the scenes and incidents created an interest that was almost painful. The escape of the pedler spy with a squadron of Virginia light-horsemen at his heels, the chase of an American frigate by an English squadron, the wreck of

the Ariel, the defence of the island at Glenn's Falls against a troop of savages, and the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill as witnessed by Lionel Lincoln, are passages almost unmatched for power, vivacity, and scenic effect, by any novelist except Scott. The remainder of the story through which these fine sketches were distributed was generally a curious piece of patchwork, the best quality of which was negative; it did not avert the reader's attention from the incidents, and land or sea views, which alone were worthy of it. Characters supposed to be men and women flitted about, and held interminable conversations with each other about nothing at all; these were necessary, indeed, for the progress of the story, but they were none the less incumbrance. Mr. Cooper never invented but two probable and interesting characters in his life, — Long Tom Coffin and the Leatherstocking; and the latter of these, as if to show how much the writer was delighted with his success, was made to figure in about six different novels, at as many stages of his supposed life. This poverty of invention in character, and the almost total want of humor and pathos, are the probable causes why even the most successful productions of our author would seldom bear a second reading. They were commonly laid aside after the first perusal, with a feeling that the whole stock of amusement which they could afford had been exhausted.

Mr. Cooper's literary existence properly terminated with the publication of *The Monikins*, a novel of which it is not possible to say much, as we have never read it, and never met with any individual who had. It was the close of a lamentable series of fictions, the scenes of which were supposed to take place on European ground, and to embody the results of the author's observation while abroad. The good-natured and much-enduring public, slow to forget an old favorite, read them all through in the vain hope of finding somewhere a touch of the author's unrivalled power of description. But the first individual, who made the same benevolent attempt upon *The Monikins*, dislocated his jaws before completing the second chapter; and no one has dared to repeat the experiment. Of the novels which have come after it, amounting on the average to at least one in each year, it is enough to say that they are written by a shade of Mr. Cooper, who represents very fairly his bad taste, his garrulity, and his

prejudices, but bears no likeness of his manlier features. Many of them are not novels, or romantic fictions, in the proper sense of the term, but tedious arguments, or querulous pleas addressed to the community's sense of justice, founded on the imaginary slights or wrongs which the author has suffered. He has had the misfortune, apparently, to quarrel with the world, or with that small portion of the world with whom the location of his property brings him immediately in contact. He has thought proper to carry on this war with his own peculiar weapons, by publishing a series of stories, which appear to be very bitter village satires. P. P., clerk of our parish, has seemingly quarrelled with the minister, the doctor, the lawyer, and the representative to Congress; and he seeks to gain his revenge by gibbeting them all in print. But he has succeeded in manifesting his purpose, much more than his power, to wound; he has shown bad policy, bad temper, and bad taste. If his satirical strokes are really directed against individuals, as they appear to be, the intended victims are shielded from harm by their own insignificance. The world at large does not know, and cannot know, that Lawyer Timms stands for Mr. A., that Mr. B. is pilloried under the appellation of Saucy Williams, or that Mrs. Pope represents the garrulous and silly busybody, Mrs. C. These worthy individuals are no more personalities in the world's eye than so many letters of the alphabet.

We would not do Mr. Cooper any injustice. We know nothing of the grounds of his dispute with his neighbors, nothing of the causes which have brought upon him the enmity of many newspaper editors, or have involved him in a long succession of lawsuits. It is even possible that he has not alluded to these personal matters in his recent novels, but that the ill-favored pictures in them are only types of a class, not portraits of individuals. If so, our ground of censure is only shifted, not taken away. If he has not quarrelled with a particular society, he has quarrelled with all North America; if these sketches are not libels upon individuals, they are libels upon his countrymen at large. They are ebullitions of ill nature, petulant manifestations of an irritable and scolding temperament. Mr. Cooper evidently does not like our American works and ways. But he cannot censure them in the spirit of a philosopher or a humorist; he can only croak and

growl. Consequently, his sketches of character abound in marks of bad temper and savage exaggeration, without being enlivened by a single stroke of wit or playful fancy, or evincing any power of grotesque and humorous combination. Hence, they appear, as we have said, like personal satires or libels; their aspect is neither truthful nor complaisant. They are not imaginative portraiture of American life in general, but sour caricatures, it matters not whether of persons or classes.

It is no unusual thing for a writer to lose both his fancy and his humor, when he loses his temper. Dickens is an eminent instance. In general, he is very good-humored; he laughs at the follies, prejudices, and vices of his countrymen, and thereby does much to amuse, and something to amend them. His caricatures, when most severe, are so enveloped in an atmosphere of fun, that even if they were drawn from the life, the victims themselves would be compelled to laugh. Mr. Squeers, the brutal and ignorant schoolmaster, Mr. Pecksniff, the quintessence of hypocrisy and selfishness, appear so comical from the very exaggeration of their evil qualities, that the reader cannot find it in his heart to hate them; he even conceives a sneaking kindness for these scamps, and heartily wishes their reformation. But Mr. Dickens had the misfortune to quarrel with the people of this country, or perhaps we should say, that our countrymen had the misfortune to incur his displeasure, because at first they very foolishly made an idol of him, and then, when he asked them to give him solid pudding in place of empty praise, by passing a law of international copyright, which would have added many thousands a year to his income, they rather gruffly refused, and some of the newspapers even began to abuse him. Mr. Dickens went home in a towering rage, and forthwith wrote a novel for the express purpose of venting his spite upon the Americans. His most ardent admirers will hardly deny, that the American chapters in *Martin Chuzzlewit* are the feeblest portion of the book, that they are both spiteful and dull. The writer's genius deserts him here, because he is more intent upon wreaking his anger, than upon gratifying his love of the ludicrous. Mr. Jefferson Brick, the New York editor, Mrs. Parkins's boarding house, Col. Thompson, and Eden, the frontier settlement, are dull and gross caricatures. They have a foundation in truth; they probably come quite as near to real

life as do most of the writer's English sketches ; but they are conceived in a spirit so bitter and resentful, that Momus himself could hardly laugh at them. They are excrescences upon the story, the progress of which is impeded by their presence ; and the reader cannot avoid execrating the unlucky chance that induced either Martin Chuzzlewit or Mr. Dickens ever to cross the Atlantic.

Most of the characters intended to be humorous or satirical in Mr. Cooper's *Ways of the Hour*, and several other of his recent novels, may be classed with the very feeblest of Mr. Dickens's American creations. They are coarse and spiteful caricatures, not relieved by a single ray of wit or fancy, neither humorous nor grotesque, but stiff, sprawling, and unnatural, like the figures which children cut out of card paper. A rude likeness can faintly be distinguished in them, just as the awkward semblance of two legs, two arms, and a head, on one of these card figures, proves that it was intended to represent a man. Mr. Cooper's style is so prosy and diffuse that we can with difficulty find a passage short enough to be transferred to our pages, which shall at the same time show the justice of our criticisms. But a portion of the following conversation between 'Squire Dunscomb and 'Squire Timms may serve to show what opinion our author entertains of American lawyers, American courts of justice, and American newspapers.

"Take a seat, Mr. Timms," said Dunscomb, motioning to a chair, while he resumed his own well-cushioned seat, and deliberately proceeded to light a cigar, not without pressing several with a species of intelligent tenderness, between his thumb and finger. "Take a seat, sir ; and take a cigar."

Here occurred the great *tour de force* in manners of 'Squire Timms. Considerately turning his person quartering towards his host, and seizing himself by the nose, much as if he had a quarrel with that member of his face, he blowed a blast that sounded sonorously, and which fulfilled all that it promised. Now a better mannered man than Dunscomb it would not be easy to find. He was not particularly distinguished for elegance of deportment, but he was perfectly well-bred. Nevertheless, he did not flinch before this broad hint from vulgarity, but stood it unmoved. To own the truth, so large has been the inroad from the base of society, within the last five-and-twenty years, on the habits of those who once exclusively dwelt together, that he had got hardened even

to *this* innovation. The fact is not to be concealed, and, as we intend never to touch upon the subject again, we shall say distinctly that Mr. Timms blowed his nose with his fingers, and that, in so doing, he did not innovate one half as much, to-day, on the usages of the Upper Ten Thousand, as he would have done had he blowed his nose with his thumb only, a quarter of a century since.

Dunscomb bore this infliction philosophically ; and well he might, for there was no remedy. Waiting for Timms to use his handkerchief, which was produced somewhat tardily for such an operation, he quietly opened the subject of their interview.

"So the grand jury has actually found a bill for murder and arson, my nephew writes me," Dunscomb observed, looking inquiringly at his companion, as if really anxious for further intelligence.

"Unanimously, they tell me, Mr. Dunscomb," answered Timms. "I understand that only one man *deceased*, and he was brought round before they came into court. That piece of money damns our case in old Duke's."

"Money saves more cases than it damns, Timms ; and no one knows it better than yourself."

"Very true, sir. Money may defy even the new code. Give me five hundred dollars, and change the proceedings to a civil action, and I'll carry any thing in my own county that you'll put on the calendar, barring some twenty or thirty jurors I could name. There *are* about thirty men in the county that I can do nothing with — for that matter, whom I dare not approach."

"How the deuce is it, Timms, that you manage your causes with so much success ? for I remember you have given me a good deal of trouble in suits in which law and fact were both clearly enough on my side."

"I suppose those must have been causes in which we 'horse-shedded' and 'pillowed' a good deal."

"Horse-shedded and pillowed ! Those are legal terms of which I have no knowledge !"

"They are country phrases, sir, and country customs, too, for that matter. A man might practise a long life in town, and know nothing about them. The Halls of Justice are not immaculate ; but they can tell us nothing of horse-shedding and pillowing. They do business in a way of which we in the country are just as ignorant as you are of our mode."

"Have the goodness, Timms, just to explain the meaning of your terms, which are quite new to me. I will not swear they are not in the Code of Practice, but they are in neither Blackstone nor Kent."

"Horse-shedding, 'Squire Dunscomb, explains itself. In the country, most of the jurors, witnesses, &c., have more or less to do with the horse-sheds, if it's only to see that their beasts are fed. Well, we keep proper talkers there, and it must be a knotty case, indeed, into which an ingenious hand cannot thrust a doubt or an argument. To be frank with you, I've known three pretty difficult suits summed up under a horse-shed in one day; and twice as many opened."

"But how is this done?—do you present your arguments directly, as in court?"

"Lord bless you, no. In court unless the jury happen to be unusually excellent, counsel have to pay some little regard to the testimony and the law; but, in horse-shedding, one has no need of either. A skilful horse-shedder, for instance, will talk a party to pieces, and not say a word about the case. That's the perfection of the business. It's against the law, you know, Mr. Dunscomb, to talk of a case before a juror—an indictable offence—but one may make a case of a party's general character, of his means, his miserly qualities, or his aristocracy; and it will be hard to get hold of the talker for any of them qualities. Aristocracy, of late years, is a capital argument, and will suit almost any state of facts, or any action you can bring. Only persuade the jury that the plaintiff or defendant fancies himself better than they are, and the verdict is certain. I got a thousand dollars in the Springer case, solely on that ground. Aristocracy did it! It is going to do us a great deal of harm in this murder and arson indictment."

"It is wonderful, 'Squire, how many persons see the loose side of democracy, who have no notion of the tight! But, all this time, our client is in gaol at Biberry, and must be tried next week. Has nothing been done, 'Squire, to choke off the newspapers, who have something to say about her almost every day. It's quite time the other side should be heard."

"It is very extraordinary that the persons who control these papers should be so indifferent to the rights of others as to allow such paragraphs to find a place in their columns."

"Indifferent! What do they care, so long as the journal sells? In our case, however, I rather suspect that a certain reporter has taken offence; and when men of that class get offended, look out for news of the color of their anger. Is n't it wonderful, 'Squire Dunscomb, that the people don't see and feel that they are sustaining low tyrants, in two thirds of their silly clamor about the liberty of the press?"

"Many do see it; and I think this engine has lost a great deal

of its influence within the last few years. As respects proceedings in the courts, there never will be any true liberty in the country, until the newspapers are bound hand and foot."

"You are right enough in one thing, 'Squire, and that is in the ground the press has lost. It has pretty much used itself up in Duke's; and I would pillow and horse-shed a cause through against it, the best day it ever saw!"

"By the way, Timms, you have not explained the pillowing process to me."

"I should think the word itself would do that, sir. You know how it is in the country. Half a dozen beds are put in the same room, and two in a bed. Waal, imagine three or four jurors in one of these rooms, and two chaps along with 'em, with instructions how to talk. The conversation is the most innocent and nat'ral in the world; not a word too much or too little; but it sticks like a bur. The juror is a plain, simple-minded countryman, and swallows all that his room-mates say, and goes into the box next day in a beautiful frame of mind to listen to reason and evidence! No, no; give me two or three of these pillow-counsellors, and I'll undo all that the journals can do, in a single conversation. You'll remember, 'Squire, that we get the last word by this system; and if the first blow is half the battle in war, the last word is another half in the law. Oh! it's a beautiful business, is this trial by jury."

"All this is very wrong, Timms. For a long time I have known that you have exercised an extraordinary influence over the jurors of Duke's; but this is the first occasion on which you have been frank enough to reveal the process."

This extract shows very clearly what was Mr. Cooper's purpose in writing the whole book. It was not his object simply to amuse his readers by an entertaining fiction. He wished to write a dissertation on the American mode of rendering justice in a court of law; and because he doubted his powers of obtaining an audience, or finding readers, if he pursued this purpose in a straightforward way, by writing an avowed essay upon the subject, he concocts a story, and invents characters, with especial reference to this end, and attempts to smuggle in truth, or what he considers as truth, under the garb of fiction. He says explicitly in his preface, "the object of this book is to draw the attention of the reader to some of the social evils that beset us; more particularly, in connection with the administration of criminal justice." The book, accordingly, is a hybrid; a portion of it is to be judged

upon the principles of criticism which are applicable to the composition of prose fiction; the remainder is to be tried by the force of the arguments alleged against the practice of trial by jury in a democracy. Objections urged against it in the former respect may be answered by the plea, that it is avowedly argumentative and discursive in character; that it is not a novel, but an essay. If its egregious mis-statements and exaggerations are exposed, the answer is ready, that it is a work of imagination, not of fact. We admit the justice of both allegations; we have shown that it is prosaic and dull as a fiction, and we proceed to show that it is imaginative and unfounded in its statements of fact.

The plot of the novel is awkward and improbable enough; but as it is the main portion of our author's argument against the trial by jury, we must endeavor to give an abstract of it. A house in the village of Biberry, New York, inhabited by an aged and childless couple of the name of Goodwin, takes fire in the night-time, is burned to the ground; and, as is supposed, the two old folks lose their lives in the flames. The charred remains of two human beings are found in the ruins, and though so much injured that the sex cannot be distinguished, are finally pronounced to be the corpses of old Peter Goodwin and his wife. The skulls of both are fractured; and as they were side by side when found, and the fracture was of the same character and in the same part of the head in the two cases, it is concluded that they were both murdered by one blow, and that the house was then set on fire to conceal the crime. Suspicion falls upon a mysterious young woman, known only under the evidently assumed name of Mary Monson, who had been residing with the Goodwins for a short time as a boarder, and who was with difficulty rescued on the night of the fire. She is beautiful and accomplished, and it soon appears, moreover, that she is very rich, or at least, that she has almost an unlimited command of money for present exigencies; yet she refuses to communicate to any one her real name, her previous history, or her motives for coming to Biberry. The possession of such advantages, and her refusal to gratify the impertinent curiosity of the villagers, creates a strong prejudice against her, which is strengthened by one really suspicious circumstance. Mrs. Goodwin was a miser, who kept a private hoard of gold in an old stocking,

which was usually deposited in the drawer of a bureau, though her vanity induced her often to take it out, and make a show of it to the wondering gossips, her neighbors. This bureau was saved from the flames, and when its drawers were opened before the coroner's jury, the stocking with the treasure it had contained was missing. Mary Monson was present as a witness before the coroner ; and, as she was known to have a considerable sum in gold in her possession, she was desired to produce her purse for inspection. After this purse had been passed from hand to hand among all the persons in the room, the coroner finds in it a foreign gold coin, somewhat peculiar in appearance, and notched on the edge, which two of the witnesses present swear they had recently seen among the other contents of Mrs. Goodwin's old stocking. Mary Monson is then committed to jail on a triple charge of robbery, murder, and arson.

Dr. McBrain, a benevolent and acute physician of the city of New York, who was present at the coroner's examination, and had timidly expressed his doubt whether the two skeletons produced could be those of Peter Goodwin and his wife, inasmuch as he thought they were both the remains of females, is struck with the gentle and lady-like manner of the accused, with her friendlessness, the evident prejudice against her, and the gross insufficiency of the grounds on which she was arrested. He interests his friend Tom Dunscomb, the great New York counsellor, in her favor ; and the latter generously takes charge of her defence without a fee. But the demand upon his charity does not seem to be very urgent, as the lady gives an extravagant fee to Timms, a greedy and selfish pettifogger, who is employed by her as junior counsel, and also expends large sums, at his instigation, in trying through paid agents to turn the tide of public sympathy against the prosecution. Dunscomb is an eccentric old bachelor, and a profound lawyer, who finds his chief amusement in grumbling at all the innovations which the State of New York has recently made in the practice of her courts, and in laughing at his friend Dr. McBrain for marrying a third wife. A nephew and niece of Dunscomb, and a daughter-in-law of the physician, also appear on the stage ; but as they have nothing to do but to talk, and their presence does not at all affect the progress of the story, we need say no more about them.

The conduct of Mary Monson becomes more and more mysterious. Though imprisoned on a capital charge, she contrives to enjoy most of the comforts and luxuries of life ; her cell is carpeted, and furnished with a harp and other rich articles ; and as she has obtained by money a set of false keys, she leaves the prison whenever she pleases at night, always taking care to return to it before morning. Her chief pleasure seems to consist in arranging with Lawyer Timmis, for whom she has a hearty contempt, though he is in love with her, a set of manœuvres designed to operate on public opinion respecting her case, as an offset to those which are unscrupulously practised by the prosecution. Her trial at length comes on, and after proceedings which are detailed at length, and most of which are in defiance of the first principles of law and the ordinary rules of criminal proceedings, she is found guilty and sentenced to death for the murder of Peter Goodwin. Not a tittle more of evidence is produced against her than what we have already related, and “the great lawyer,” Dunscomb, shows himself a ninny and an ignoramus in the conduct of her cause. Just after her sentence is pronounced, Peter Goodwin makes his appearance in court alive and hearty, to the great astonishment of the jury and of his old acquaintances. Mary Monson has known of his existence all the while, and by means of her agents has kept him secreted by keeping him half drunk, in order that she might have the glory of being falsely convicted of murder and arson, and thereby proving the imbecility of American courts of law. It is further made to appear, that no crime at all had been committed, except that of larceny by Mrs. Burton, a witness for the government, who had stolen the stocking with its golden contents just after the bureau was removed from the burning house. The fact also comes to light that Mary Monson is insane, and so not responsible for any act, though her madness only manifests itself by excessive cunning and shrewdness in the management of her trial,—qualities in which she certainly beats the great lawyer Dunscomb all hollow.

“The fire was accidental, as has been recently ascertained by circumstances it is unnecessary to relate. Goodwin had left his wife, the night before the accident, and she had taken the German woman to sleep with her. As the garret-floor above this pair was consumed, the plough fell, its share inflicting the blow

which stunned them, if it did not inflict even a greater injury. That part of the house was first consumed, and the skeletons were found, as has been related, side by side. In the confusion of the scene, Sarah Burton had little difficulty in opening the drawer, and removing the stocking. She fancied herself unseen ; but Mary Monson observed the movement, though she had then no idea what was abstracted. The unfortunate delinquent maintains that her intention, at the time, was good ; or, that her sole object was to secure the gold ; but, is obliged to confess that the possession of the treasure gradually excited her cupidity, until she began to hope that this hoard might eventually become her own. The guilty soonest suspect guilt. As to "the pure, all things are pure," so it is with the innocent, who are the least inclined to suspect others of wicked actions. Thus was it with Mrs. Burton. In the commission of a great wrong herself, she had little difficulty in supposing that Mary Monson was the sort of person that rumor made her out to be. She saw no great harm, then, in giving a shove to the descending culprit. When looking into the stocking, she had seen, and put in her own pocket, the notched piece, as a curiosity, there being nothing more unusual in the guilty thus incurring unnecessary risks, than there is in the moth's temerity in fluttering around the candle. When the purse of Mary Monson was examined, as usually happens on such occasions, we had almost said as *always* happens, in the management of cases that are subsequently to form a part of the justice of the land, much less attention was paid to the care of that purse than ought to have been bestowed on it. Profiting by the neglect, Sarah Burton exchanged the notched coin for the perfect piece, unobserved, as she again fancied : but once more the watchful eye of Mary Monson was on her. The first time the woman was observed by the last, it was accidentally ; but suspicion once aroused it was natural enough to keep a look-out on the suspected party. The act was seen, and at the moment that the accused thought happy, the circumstance was brought to bear on the trial. Sarah Burton maintains that, at first, her sole intention was to exchange the imperfect for the perfect coin ; and that she was induced to swear to the piece subsequently produced, as that found on Mary Monson's person, as a literal fact, ignorant of what might be its consequences. Though the devil doubtless leads us on, step by step, deeper and deeper, into crime and sin, it is probable that, in this particular, the guilty woman applied a flattering unction to her conscience, that the truth would have destroyed."

The true name of Mary Monson is Madame de Laroche-forte. She was American by birth, the granddaughter of a lady who had jilted Dunscomb in his youth, and bequeathed a

touch of insanity to all her descendants. She had married a Frenchman of rank, much older than herself, whom she hated, and soon abandoned, taking refuge under a false name in the State of New York, where the laws, according to our author, permit married women to leave their husbands, and allow them the separate management of their property. And this wild and improbable tale, of the conviction of a mad woman for the murder of a person still alive, for arson committed on a dwelling-house which was accidentally fired, and for stealing gold which was actually stolen by the chief witness for the prosecution, — of her conviction under evidence which would hardly have authorized a justice of the peace to commit her for trial, — is Mr. Cooper's ground for impugning the fairness of our courts of law, and for affirming that the institution of trial by jury "is totally unsuited to a democracy!" There may be defects and evils in the administration of criminal justice in our country, but this, certainly, is not the way to expose or amend them.

Our author is most unhappy in selecting a ground of complaint against the action of juries in America. No one can justly accuse them of undue severity. Their tendency, it is notorious, especially in capital cases, is to acquit, when both the law and the evidence require a conviction. From a natural unwillingness to have any share in taking away human life, from increased doubts as to the equity and expediency of capital punishment, and from involuntary sympathy with a person pleading for his life when the whole force of the government seems to be arrayed against him and striving to produce a conviction, the jury often seem disposed to take the bit in their teeth, and to carry off the accused in triumph, in spite of the testimony. They usurp the prerogative of the pardoning power, and often say "not guilty," when they mean only that the criminal ought "not to be punished." In order to save their consciences and their oaths, we have often wished that the Scotch practice might be introduced into the English common law, so that the jury might be allowed to return a verdict of "not proven," when the evidence did not absolutely compel them to say either "guilty" or "not guilty." At present, the "reasonable doubt," of which they are told the prisoner must have the benefit, is often made to cover most unreasonable and illegal scruples. The case of the Boorns, who

were tried and convicted in Vermont, over thirty years ago, for the murder of their brother-in-law, who subsequently made his appearance alive, is about the only one which we can recollect that affords even a coloring of probability to Mr. Cooper's extravagant fiction ; and in that instance, the court and the jury could plead in justification of their blunder, that they had relied mainly on the confessions which the accused, from some inexplicable motives, were induced to make.

There is no pressing necessity to answer our author's arguments, or to defend an institution so ancient and so much honored as the trial by jury. We admit there is some force in his remark, that in a monarchy, where the jury stand between the sovereign and the people for the protection of the latter, such a tribunal is more useful and more likely to be just than it is in a democracy, where the people themselves are the sovereign power. And yet this distinction is not so important as it seems ; for the unity of " the people," even in the wildest democracy that ever existed, is only fictitious, — a mere figure of speech. In our own country, a jury commonly represents the opinion of the disinterested and unimpassioned multitude sitting in judgment upon the contending claims of individuals. It is true, that the judges and the prosecuting officer represent the sovereign power in the state, and that the jury also form a portion of the same sovereign power ; but we must recollect that this sovereign is not one, but many, and therefore does not sit as a judge in its own cause. Its unity is fictitious ; its multiplicity is real. The jurymen in this country are usually no more biased in favor of the government, because it is a government of the people, than they are in favor of the accused, who also is one of the people, one of themselves. Nay, because the government is in a great degree a unit, while the people are many, and though they elect the government, they are still ruled and repressed by it during its term of office, the sympathies of the jury are more likely to be with the accused than with the accuser. It is only in very few cases that the excitement against a supposed criminal becomes so universal and overwhelming, as to rob him of the chance of a fair trial." And the law is very watchful to guard against even this infrequent danger of rooted prejudice or personal dislike. The care with which a jury is selected, not by any means on the principle of universal suffrage, but by putting

the names only of respectable householders into the box ; the searching questions that may be put by the counsel on both sides to every one who is drawn by lot, before he is allowed to try a particular cause ; and the separation of the jurymen, for the most part, from popular influences during the time of the trial, together with the solemnity of the oath that is administered to them, and of the charge which they receive from the bench, are very efficient safeguards against prepossession and malice. We respect, we honor, the judges, who have kept the *crimine of office* quite as unsullied in this country as in Great Britain. If they were appointed, as before, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, we should be quite willing to place the issue of every trial in their hands, after the common fashion in a court of admiralty. But the independence of the judiciary among us, of late, has been seriously impaired in several States, by causing the judges to be elected by popular vote, and to hold office only for a short term of years. It would be very perilous, under such circumstances, to give them the whole power and responsibility, instead of allowing them to share it, in each case, with a small number of persons chosen by lot from the community at large, and representing not only the authority, but the average intelligence and the sense of justice, of the whole people. It will require much weightier arguments than any which Mr. Cooper has adduced to shake our confidence in an arrangement which seems equally deserving of respect for its antiquity and its adaptation to the wants of the present age.

ART. VI. — *The Scarlet Letter, a Romance.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1850. 12mo. pp. 322.

THAT there is something not unpleasing to us in the misfortunes of our best friends, is a maxim we have always spurned, as a libel on human nature. But we must be allowed, in behalf of Mr. Hawthorne's friend and gossip, the literary public, to rejoice in the event — a "removal" from the office of Surveyor of the Customs for the port of Salem, —

which has brought him back to our admiring, and, we modestly hope, congenial society, from associations and environments which have confessedly been detrimental to his genius, and to those qualities of heart, which, by an unconscious revelation through his style, like the involuntary betrayal of character in a man's face and manners, have won the affection of other than personal friends. 'We are truly grieved at the savage "scratches" our phoenix has received from the claws of the national eagle, scratches gratuitous and unprovoked, whereby his plumage remains not a little ruffled, if his breast be not very deeply lacerated. We hope we do not see tendencies to *self immolation* in the introductory chapter to this volume. It seems suicidal to a most enviable fame, to show the fine countenance of the sometime denizen of Concord Parsonage, once so serene and full of thought, and at the same time so attractively arch, now cloudy and peevish, or dressed in sardonic smiles, which would scare away the enthusiasm of less hearty admirers than those he "holds by the button." The pinnacle on which the "conscience of the beautiful" has placed our author's graceful image is high enough, however, to make slight changes from the wear and tear of out-door elements, highway dust, and political vandalism, little noticed by those accustomed to look lovingly up to it. Yet they cannot be expected to regret a "removal," which has saved those finer and more delicate traits, in which genius peculiarly manifests itself, from being worn away by rough contact, or obliterated by imperceptible degrees through the influence of the atmosphere.

Mr. Hawthorne's serious apprehensions on this subject are thus candidly expressed : —

"I began to grow melancholy and restless ; continually prying into my mind, to discover which of its poor properties were gone, and what degree of detriment had already accrued to the remainder. I endeavored to calculate how much longer I could stay in the Custom House, and yet go forth a man. To confess the truth, it was my greatest apprehension, — as it would never be a measure of policy to turn out so quiet an individual as myself, and it being hardly in the nature of a public officer to resign, — it was my chief trouble, therefore, that I was likely to grow gray and decrepit in the Surveyorship, and become much such another animal as the old Inspector. Might it not, in the tedious lapse of official life that lay before me, finally be with me

as it was with this venerable friend, — to make the dinner hour the nucleus of the day, and to spend the rest of it, as an old dog spends it, asleep in the sunshine or the shade? A dreary look-forward this, for a man who felt it to be the best definition of happiness to live throughout the whole range of his faculties and sensibilities! But, all this while, I was giving myself very unnecessary alarm. Providence had meditated better things for me than I could possibly imagine for myself."

A man who has so rare an individuality to lose may well shudder at the idea of becoming a soulless machine, a sort of official scarecrow, having only so much of manly semblance left as will suffice to warn plunderers from the property of "Uncle Sam." Haunted by the horror of mental annihilation, it is not wonderful that he should look askance at the drowsy row of officials, as they reclined uneasily in tilted chairs, and should measure their mental torpidity by the length of time they had been subjected to the soul-exhaling process in which he had not yet got beyond the conscious stage. It was in pure apprehension, let us charitably hope, and not in a satirical, and far less a malicious, mood, that he describes one of them as retaining barely enough of the moral and spiritual nature to keep him from going upon all fours, and possessing neither soul, heart, nor mind more worthy of immortality than the spirit of the beast, which "goeth downward." Judging his aged colleagues thus, well might the young publican, as yet spiritually alive, stand aghast! A man may be excusable for starving his *intellect*, if Providence has thrown him into a situation where its dainty palate cannot be gratified. But for the well being of his *moral nature*, he is more strictly responsible, and has no right, under any circumstances, to remain in a position where, from causes beyond his control, his conscience is deprived of its supremacy over the will, and policy or expediency, whether public or selfish, placed upon its throne. "Most men," says our honest author, "suffer moral detriment from this mode of life," from causes which, (having just devoted four pages to a full-length caricature,) he had not space to hint at, except in the following pithy admonition to the aspirants after a place in the Blue Book.

"Uncle Sam's gold — meaning no disrespect to the worthy old gentleman — has, in this respect, a quality of enchantment, like that of the Devil's wages. Whoever touches it should look well

to himself, or he may find the bargain to go hard against him, involving, if not his soul, yet many of his better attributes; its sturdy force, its courage and constancy, its truth, its self-reliance, and all that gives the emphasis to manly character."

It was great gain for a man like Mr. Hawthorne to depart this truly unprofitable life; but we wish that his demise had been quiet and Christian, and not by violence. We regret that any of the bitterness of heart engendered by the political battle, and by his subsequent decapitation without being judged by his peers, should have come with him to a purer and higher state of existence. That a head should fall, and even receive "an ignominious kick," is but a common accident in a party struggle, and would be of no more consequence to the world in Mr. Hawthorne's case than any other, (the metaphorical head not including brains,) provided the spirit had suffered no material injury in the encounter. Of that, however, we have no means of judging, except by comparing this book of recent production with his former writings. Of the "stern and sombre" pictures of the world and human life, external and internal, found in the *Scarlet Letter*, we shall speak anon. The preface claims some farther notice.

One would conclude, that the mother on whose bosom the writer was cherished in his urchinhood had behaved herself like a very step-mother towards him, showing a vulgar preference of those sons who have gathered, and thrown into her lap, gifts more substantial than garlands and laurel wreaths. This appears from his reluctant and half ashamed confession of attachment to her, and his disrespectful remarks upon her homely and commonplace features, her chilly and unsocial disposition, and those marks of decay and premature age which needed not to be pointed out. The portrait is like, no doubt; but we cannot help imagining the ire of the ancient dame at the unfilial satire. Indeed, a faint echo of the voice of her indignation has arrived at our ears. She complains, that, in anatomizing the characters of his former associates for the entertainment of the public, he has used the scalpel on some subjects, who, though they could not defend themselves, might possibly wince; and that all who came under his hand, living or dead, had probably relatives among his readers, whose affections might be wounded.

Setting this consideration apart, we confess that, to our

individual taste, this naughty chapter is more piquant than any thing in the book ; the style is racy and pungent, not elaborately witty, but stimulating the reader's attention agreeably by original turns of expression, and unhackneyed combinations of words, falling naturally into their places, as if of their own accord, and not obtained by far seeking and impressment into the service. The sketch of General Miller is airily and lightly done ; no other artist could have given so much character to each fine drawn line as to render the impression almost as distinct to the reader's fancy as a portrait drawn by rays of light is to the bodily vision. Another specimen of his word painting, the lonely parlor seen by the moonlight melting into the warmer glow of the fire, while it reminds us of Cowper's much quoted and admired verse, has truly a great deal more of genuine poetry in it. The delineations of wharf scenery, and of the Custom House, with their appropriate figures and personages, are worthy of the pen of Dickens ; and really, so far as mere style is concerned, Mr. Hawthorne has no reason to thank us for the compliment ; he has the finer touch, if not more genial feeling, of the two. Indeed, if we except a few expressions which savor somewhat strongly of his late unpoetical associations, and the favorite metaphor of the guilotine, which, however apt, is not particularly agreeable to the imagination in such detail, we like the preface better than the tale.

No one who has taken up the *Scarlet Letter* will willingly lay it down till he has finished it ; and he will do well not to pause, for he cannot resume the story where he left it. He should give himself up to the magic power of the style, without stopping to open wide the eyes of his good sense and judgment, and shake off the spell ; or half the weird beauty will disappear like a "dissolving view." To be sure, when he closes the book, he will feel very much like the giddy and bewildered patient who is just awaking from his first experiment of the effects of sulphuric ether. The soul has been floating or flying between earth and heaven, with dim ideas of pain and pleasure strangely mingled, and all things earthly swimming dizzily and dreamily, yet most beautiful, before the half shut eye. That the author himself felt this sort of intoxication as well as the willing subjects of his enchantment, we think, is evident in many pages of the last half of the vol-

ume. His imagination has sometimes taken him fairly off his feet, insomuch that he seems almost to doubt if there be any firm ground at all, — if we may so judge from such mysterious ideas as the following.

“But, to all these shadowy beings, so long our near acquaintances, — as well Roger Chillingworth as his companions, — we would fain be merciful. It is a curious subject of observation and inquiry, whether hatred and love be not the same thing at bottom. Each, in its utmost development, supposes a high degree of intimacy and heart-knowledge; each renders one individual dependent for the food of his affections and spiritual life upon another; each leaves the passionate lover, or the no less passionate hater, forlorn and desolate by the withdrawal of his object. Philosophically considered, therefore, the two passions seem essentially the same, except the one happens to be seen in a celestial radiance, and the other in a dusky and lurid glow. In the spiritual world, the old physician and the minister — mutual victims as they have been — may, unawares, have found their earthly stock of hatred and antipathy transmuted into golden love.”

Thus devils and angels are alike beautiful, when seen through the magic glass; and they stand side by side in heaven, however the former may be supposed to have come there. As for Roger Chillingworth, he seems to have so little in common with man, he is such a gnome-like phantasm, such an unnatural personification of an abstract idea, that we should be puzzled to assign him a place among angels, men, or devils. He is no more a man than Mr. Dombey, who sinks down a mere *caput mortuum*, as soon as pride, the only animating principle, is withdrawn. These same “shadowy beings” are much like “the changeling the fairies made o’ a benweed.” Hester at first strongly excites our pity, for she suffers like an immortal being; and our interest in her continues only while we have hope for her soul, that its baptism of tears will reclaim it from the foul stain which has been cast upon it. We see her humble, meek, self-denying, charitable, and heart-wrung with anxiety for the moral welfare of her wayward child. But anon her humility catches a new tint, and we find it pride; and so a vague unreality steals by degrees over all her most humanizing traits — we lose our confidence in all — and finally, like Undine, she disappoints us, and shows the dream-land origin and nature, when we were looking to behold a Christian.

There is rather more power, and better keeping, in the character of Dimmesdale. But here again we are cheated into a false regard and interest, partly perhaps by the associations thrown around him without the intention of the author, and possibly contrary to it, by our habitual respect for the sacred order, and by our faith in religion, where it has once been rooted in the heart. We are told repeatedly, that the Christian element yet pervades his character and guides his efforts; but it seems strangely wanting. "High aspirations for the welfare of his race, warm love of souls, pure sentiments, natural piety, strengthened by thought and study, and illuminated by revelation — all of which invaluable gold was little better than rubbish" to Roger Chillingworth, are little better than rubbish at all, for any use to be made of them in the story. Mere suffering, aimless and without effect for purification or blessing to the soul, we do not find in God's moral world. The sting that follows crime is most severe in the purest conscience and the tenderest heart, in mercy, not in vengeance, surely; and we can conceive of any cause constantly exerting itself without its appropriate effects, as soon as of a seven years' agony without penitence. But here every pang is wasted. A most obstinate and unhuman passion, or a most unwearying conscience it must be, neither being worn out, or made worse or better, by such a prolonged application of the scourge. Penitence may indeed be life-long; but as for this, we are to understand that there is no penitence about it. We finally get to be quite of the author's mind, that "the only truth that continued to give Mr. Dimmesdale a real existence on this earth, was the anguish in his inmost soul, and the undissembled expression of it in his aspect. Had he once found power to smile, and wear an aspect of gayety, there had been no such man." He duly exhales at the first gleam of hope, an uncertain and delusive beam, but fatal to his misty existence. From that time he is a fantasy, an opium dream, his faith a vapor, his reverence blasphemy, his charity mockery, his sanctity impurity, his love of souls a ludicrous impulse to teach little boys bad words; and nothing is left to bar the utterance of "a volley of good, round, solid, satisfactory, heaven-defying oaths," (a phrase which seems to smack its lips with a strange *goût*!) but good taste and the mere outward shell, "the buckramed habit of clerical decorum."

The only conclusion is, that the shell never possessed any thing real, — never was the Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale, as we have foolishly endeavored to suppose; that he was but a changeling, or an imp in grave apparel, not an erring, and consequently suffering human being, with a heart still upright enough to find the burden of conscious unworthiness and undeserved praise more intolerable than open ignominy and shame, and refraining from relieving his withering conscience from its load of unwilling hypocrisy, if partly from fear, more from the wish to be yet an instrument of good to others, not an example of evil which should weaken their faith in religion. The closing scene, where the satanic phase of the character is again exchanged for the saintly, and the pillory platform is made the stage for a triumphant *coup de théâtre*, seems to us more than a failure.

But Little Pearl — gem of the purest water — what shall we say of her? That if perfect truth to childish and human nature can make her a mortal, she is so; and immortal, if the highest creations of genius have any claim to immortality. Let the author throw what light he will upon her, from his magical prism, she retains her perfect and vivid human individuality. When he would have us call her elvish and imp-like, we persist in seeing only a capricious, roguish, untamed child, such as many a mother has looked upon with awe, and a feeling of helpless incapacity to rule. Every motion, every feature, every word and tiny shout, every naughty scream and wild laugh, come to us as if our very senses were conscious of them. The child is a true child, the only genuine and consistent mortal in the book; and wherever she crosses the dark and gloomy track of the story, she refreshes our spirit with pure truth and radiant beauty, and brings to grateful remembrance the like ministry of gladsome childhood, in some of the saddest scenes of actual life. We feel at once that the author must have a "Little Pearl" of his own, whose portrait, consciously or unconsciously, his pen sketches out. Not that we would deny to Mr. Hawthorne the power to call up any shape, angel or goblin, and present it before his readers in a striking and vivid light. But there is something more than imagination in the picture of "Little Pearl." The heart takes a part in it, and puts in certain inimitable touches of nature here and there, such as fancy never dreamed of,

and only a long and loving observation of the ways of childhood could suggest. The most characteristic traits are so interwoven with the story, (on which we do not care to dwell,) that it is not easy to extract a paragraph which will convey much of the charming image to our readers. The most convenient passage for our purpose is the description of Little Pearl playing upon the sea-shore. We take in the figure of the old man as a dark back-ground, or contrast, to heighten the effect.

"In fine, Hester Prynne resolved to meet her former husband, and do what might be in her power for the rescue of the victim on whom he had so evidently set his gripe. The occasion was not long to seek. One afternoon, walking with Pearl in a retired part of the peninsula, she beheld the old physician, with a basket on one arm, and a staff in the other hand, stooping along the ground, in quest of roots and herbs to concoct his medicines withal.

"Hester bade little Pearl run down to the margin of the water, and play with the shells and tangled seaweed, until she should have talked awhile with yonder gatherer of herbs. So the child flew away like a bird, and, making bare her small white feet, went pattering along the moist margin of the sea. Here and there, she came to a full stop, and peeped curiously into a pool, left by the retiring tide as a mirror for Pearl to see her face in. Forth peeped at her, out of the pool, with dark, glistening curls around her head, and an elf-smile in her eyes, the image of a little maid, whom Pearl, having no other playmate, invited to take her hand and run a race with her. But the visionary little maid, on her part, beckoned likewise, as if to say, — 'This is a better place! Come thou into the pool!' And Pearl, stepping in, mid-leg deep, beheld her own white feet at the bottom; while, out of a still lower depth, came the gleam of a kind of fragmentary smile, floating to and fro in the agitated water.

"Meanwhile, her mother had accosted the physician.

"'I would speak a word with you,' said she, — 'a word that concerns us much.'"

Here follows a dialogue in the spirit of the idea that runs through the book, — that revenge may exist without any overt act of vengeance that could be called such, and that a man who refrains from avenging himself, may be more diabolical in his very forbearance than he who in his passionate rage inflicts what evil he may upon his enemy; the former having that spirit of cold hate which could gloat for years, or forever, over the agonies of remorse and despair, over the anguish bodily

and mental, and consequent death or madness, of a fellow man, and never relent — never for a moment be moved to pity. This master passion of hatred, swallowing up all that is undevilish and human in Roger Chillingworth, makes him a pure abstraction at last, a sort of mythical fury, a match for Alecto the Unceasing.

“All this while, Hester had been looking steadily at the old man, and was shocked, as well as wonder-smitten, to discern what a change had been wrought upon him within the past seven years. It was not so much that he had grown older; for though the traces of advancing life were visible, he bore his age well, and seemed to retain a wiry vigor and alertness. But the former aspect of an intellectual and studious man, calm and quiet, which was what she best remembered in him, had altogether vanished, and been succeeded by an eager, searching, almost fierce, yet carefully guarded look. It seemed to be his wish and purpose to mask this expression with a smile; but the latter played him false, and flickered over his visage so derisively, that the spectator could see his blackness all the better for it. Ever and anon, too, there came a glare of red light out of his eyes; as if the old man's soul were on fire, and kept on smouldering duskily within his breast, until, by some casual puff of passion, it was blown into a momentary flame. This he repressed as speedily as possible, and strove to look as if nothing of the kind had happened.

“In a word, old Roger Chillingworth was a striking evidence of man's faculty of transforming himself into a devil, if he will only, for a reasonable space of time, undertake a devil's office. This unhappy person had effected such a transformation by devoting himself, for seven years, to the constant analysis of a heart full of torture, and deriving his enjoyment thence, and adding fuel to those fiery tortures which he analyzed and glouted over.

“The scarlet letter burned on Hester Prynne's bosom. Here was another ruin, the responsibility of which came partly home to her.

“‘What see you in my face,’ asked the physician, ‘that you look at it so earnestly?’

“‘Something that would make me weep, if there were any tears bitter enough for it,’ answered she. ‘But let it pass! It is of yonder miserable man that I would speak.’

So Roger Chillingworth — a deformed old figure, with a face that haunted men's memories longer than they liked — took leave of Hester Prynne, and went stooping away along the earth. He gathered here and there an herb, or grubbed up a root, and put it

into the basket on his arm. His gray beard almost touched the ground, as he crept onward. Hester gazed after him a little while, looking with a half-fantastic curiosity to see whether the tender grass of early spring would not be blighted beneath him, and show the wavering track of his footsteps, sere and brown, across its cheerful verdure. She wondered what sort of herbs they were, which the old man was so sedulous to gather. Would not the earth, quickened to an evil purpose by the sympathy of his eye, greet him with poisonous shrubs, of species hitherto unknown, that would start up under his fingers? Or might it suffice him, that every wholesome growth should be converted into something deleterious and malignant at his touch? Did the sun, which shone so brightly everywhere else, really fall upon him? Or was there, as it rather seemed, a circle of ominous shadow moving along with his deformity, whichever way he turned himself? And whither was he now going? Would he not suddenly sink into the earth, leaving a barren and blasted spot, where, in due course of time, would be seen deadly nightshade, dogwood, henbane, and whatever else of vegetable wickedness the climate could produce, all flourishing with hideous luxuriance? Or would he spread bat's wings and flee away, looking so much the uglier, the higher he rose towards heaven?

'Be it sin or no,' said Hester Prynne bitterly, as she still gazed after him, 'I hate the man!'

"She upbraided herself for the sentiment, but could not overcome or lessen it."

It is time to seek the exhilarating presence of "Little Pearl," whom we left on the sea-shore, making nature her playmate.

"He being gone, she summoned back her child.

"'Pearl! Little Pearl! Where are you?'

"Pearl, whose activity of spirit never flagged, had been at no loss for amusement while her mother talked with the old gatherer of herbs. At first, as already told, she had flirted fancifully with her own image in a pool of water, beckoning the phantom forth, and — as it declined to venture — seeking a passage for herself into its sphere of impalpable earth and unattainable sky. Soon finding, however, that she or the image was unreal, she turned elsewhere for better pastime. She made little boats out of birch bark, and freighted them with snail-shells, and sent out more ventures on the mighty deep than any merchant in New England; but the larger part of them foundered near the shore. She seized a live horseshoe by the tail, and made prize of several five-fingers, and laid out a jelly fish to melt in the warm sun. Then she took up the white foam, that streaked the line of the advancing tide, and

threw it upon the breeze, scampering after it with winged footsteps, to catch the great snow-flakes ere they fell. Perceiving a flock of beach-birds, that fed and fluttered along the shore, the naughty child picked up her apron full of pebbles, and, creeping from rock to rock after these small sea-fowl, displayed remarkable dexterity in pelting them. One little gray bird, with a white breast, Pearl was almost sure, had been hit by a pebble, and fluttered away with a broken wing. But then the elf-child sighed, and gave up her sport; because it grieved her to have done harm to a little being that was as wild as the sea-breeze, or as wild as Pearl herself.

"Her final employment was to gather sea-weed, of various kinds, and make herself a scarf, or mantle, and a head-dress, and thus assume the aspect of a little mermaid. She inherited her mother's gift for devising drapery and costume."

We know of no writer who better understands and combines the elements of the picturesque in writing than Mr. Hawthorne. His style may be compared to a sheet of transparent water, reflecting from its surface blue skies, nodding woods, and the smallest spray or flower that peeps over its grassy margin; while in its clear yet mysterious depths we espy rarer and stranger things, which we must dive for, if we would examine. Whether they might prove gems or pebbles, when taken out of the fluctuating medium through which the sun-gleams reach them, is of no consequence to the effect. Every thing charms the eye and ear, and nothing looks like art and pains-taking. There is a naturalness and a continuous flow of expression in Mr. Hawthorne's books, that makes them delightful to read, especially in this our day, when the fear of triteness drives some writers, (even those who might otherwise avoid that reproach,) to adopt an abrupt and dislocated style, administering to our jaded attention frequent thumps and twitches, by means of outlandish idioms and forced inversions, and now and then flinging at our heads an incomprehensible, break-jaw word, which uncivilized missile stuns us to a full stop, and an appeal to authority. No authority can be found, however, which affords any remedy or redress against determined outlaws. After bumping over "rocks and ridges, and gridiron bridges," in one of these prosaic latter-day omnibuses, how pleasant it is to move over flowery turf upon a spirited, but properly trained Pegasus, who occasionally uses his wings, and skims along a little above *terra firma*, but not with an alarming pre-

ference for cloudland or rarefied air. One cannot but wonder, by the way, that the master of such a wizard power over language as Mr. Hawthorne manifests should not choose a less revolting subject than this of the *Scarlet Letter*, to which fine writing seems as inappropriate as fine embroidery. The ugliness of pollution and vice is no more relieved by it than the gloom of the prison is by the rose tree at its door. There are some palliative expressions used, which cannot, even as a matter of taste, be approved.

Regarding the book simply as a picture of the olden time, we have no fault to find with costume or circumstance. All the particulars given us, (and he is not wearisomely anxious to multiply them to show his research,) are in good keeping and perspective, all in softened outlines and neutral tint, except the ever fresh and unworn image of childhood, which stands out from the canvas in the gorgeously attired "Little Pearl." He forbears to mention the ghastly gallows-tree, which stood hard by the pillory and whipping-post, at the city gates, and which one would think might have been banished with them from the precincts of Boston, and from the predilections of the community of whose opinions it is the focus. When a people have opened their eyes to the fact, that it is not the best way of discountenancing vice to harden it to exposure and shame, and make it brazen-faced, reckless, and impudent, they might also be convinced, it would seem, that respect for human life would not be promoted by publicly violating it, and making a spectacle, or a newspaper theme, of the mental agony and dying struggles of a human being, and of him least fit, in the common belief, to be thus hurried to his account. "Blood for blood!" We are shocked at the revengeful custom among uncivilized tribes, when it bears the aspect of private revenge, because the executioners must be of the kindred of the slain. How much does the legal retribution in kind, which civilized man exacts, differ in reality from the custom of the savage? The law undertakes to avenge its own dignity, to use a popular phrase; that is, it regards the community as one great family, and constitutes itself the avenger of blood in its behalf. It is not punishment, but retaliation, which does not contemplate the reform of the offender as well as the prevention of crime; and where it wholly loses the remedial element, and cuts off the oppor-

tunity for repentance which God's mercy allows, it is worthy of a barbarous, not a Christian, social alliance. What sort of combination for mutual safety is it, too, when no man feels safe, because fortuitous circumstances, ingeniously bound into a chain, may so entangle Truth that she cannot bestir herself to rescue us from the doom which the judgment of twelve fallible men pronounces, and our protector, the law, executes upon us?

But we are losing sight of Mr. Hawthorne's book, and of the old Puritan settlers, as he portrays them with few, but clearly cut and expressive, lines. In these sketchy groupings, Governor Bellingham is the only prominent figure, with the Rev. John Wilson behind him, "his beard, white as a snowdrift, seen over the Governor's shoulder."

"Here, to witness the scene which we are describing, sat Governor Bellingham himself, with four sergeants about his chair, bearing halberds as a guard of honor. He wore a dark feather in his hat, a border of embroidery on his cloak, and a black velvet tunic beneath; a gentleman advanced in years, and with a hard experience written in his wrinkles. He was not ill-fitted to be the head and representative of a community, which owed its origin and progress, and its present state of development, not to the impulses of youth, but to the stern and tempered energies of manhood, and the sombre sagacity of age; accomplishing so much, precisely because it imagined and hoped so little."

With this portrait, we close our remarks on the book, which we should not have criticized at so great length, had we admired it less. We hope to be forgiven, if in any instance our strictures have approached the limits of what may be considered personal. We would not willingly trench upon the right which an individual may claim, in common courtesy, not to have his private qualities or personal features discussed to his face, with everybody looking on. But Mr. Hawthorne's example in the preface, and the condescending familiarity of the attitude he assumes therein, are at once our occasion and our apology.

ART. VII. — *Lectures on Art, and Poems.* By WASHINGTON ALLSTON. Edited by RICHARD HENRY DANA, JR. New York: Baker & Scribner. 1850. 12mo. pp. 380.

It is now seven years since the remains of Washington Allston, the greatest artist of America, were followed by mourning friends and admirers to the old burying ground in Cambridge. It was universally felt that a man of the rarest genius and the loveliest character had been removed from a community which his presence honored and his influence exalted. The first steps were taken towards commemorating his life and works by raising a monument to his memory in the beautiful neighboring necropolis of Mount Auburn, which should be worthy of the genius and virtues of him who slept beneath it, and fitly express the affectionate and admiring recollections of the survivors who reared it there. Such a monument was not needed for Allston's fame; *that* is forever established by the works in which his spirit yet lives, and over which the waves of oblivion shall never sweep. But it was needed for our own credit, and for our own intellectual satisfaction and moral good. We should not have allowed the busy occupations of daily life so to employ our hands and fill our hearts, as to permit him whom we admired for his surpassing genius, and loved for the possession of every gentle and noble virtue, to lie down in the long sleep of death with no monumental pile to fix the eye of the traveller, and to express to the world by the silent voice of art, how much we revered the memory of art's most devoted worshipper. We trust this duty to the illustrious dead is not to remain forever unperformed. In heathen times, in the earliest dawn of poetry, the pious feelings of the living made the burial rites and monumental mound contribute even to the felicity of the departed.

"Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

Mr. Allston's life was entirely occupied with those pursuits which address themselves to man's higher nature. No worldly passions, no petty ambitions, ever disturbed the serenity of that elevated region in which his pure spirit moved. In the kindred arts of poetry, painting, and romance, he showed the

versatile felicity of his genius. In early life, while yet a student of painting in Rome, his works attracted the admiration of his brother artists, and an able critic, in Bunsen's volumes on Rome, declares that the coloring of his pictures approached nearer the great Italian masters than those of any other modern painter. It was his good fortune to enjoy for many years the friendship of Coleridge, whose estimation of Allston's poetical genius was shown by printing, accompanied with high but well deserved praises, in a volume of his own poems, Allston's noble lines, "America to England," which have become classical in our literature. His romance of *Monaldi* was reviewed in this Journal on its first appearance. The high opinion we then expressed of its merits — the powerful conception of the principal characters — the tragic interest of the story — the profoundly moral and religious spirit — and the purity and splendor of the style — remains unchanged, after many readings and the lapse of years. "He is not only a painter," says the German translator of this work, in the introduction to his version, "not only a historical painter, not only a painter with the pencil and pallet, but also with the pen, and, I believe, one of the best poets in this country. He is, moreover, a very noble man." "In the arrangement of the whole," (he speaks of *Monaldi*,) "in the distribution of light and shade, in the economy of the piece, there is somewhat pictorial." Again, "The whole appears to me like a great landscape-historical picture, with fore-ground, middle-ground, and back-ground, full of life, truth, and thought. The execution of the single groups is eminently successful; there are, perhaps, defects, but only in the completing transitions."

Mr. Allston's universally recognized position as the first painter of our country, and certainly one of the first in our age, will make the volume whose title is placed at the head of the present brief paper a welcome gift, not only to all the lovers of art, but to all who take an interest in elegant literature. The spirit of beauty which breathes through his poetical writings — the offspring of hours of rest from the labors of the pencil — will fill with delight the breasts of those who fly to the Muse for solace amidst the multiplying cares of life, or seek in poetry for the graceful embellishments that idealize the business of the crowded day. The

gentle dignity of Mr. Allston's personal character was such that in his presence all discord died away, and the conflict of opposing opinions softened into the richest harmony of friendly discourse. The pride of letters, the jealousies of artists, the spirit of detraction vanished before his genial smile, and the kindly urbanity of his manner. The blandness of his ever-varied conversation, uttered in a voice of singular sweetness and power, his high-bred, unaffected, and most gentleman-like demeanor, and the Attic purity and felicity of his wit, made his society the greatest delight to all who enjoyed the rare happiness of living in his neighborhood and of sharing in his social nights. Mr. Allston never had an enemy. One would as soon have thought of indulging in hostile feelings against a star as against him, so completely was he removed from the region of evil passions and strife. Men of the most opposite opinions, belonging to different schools upon every subject of human thought, agreed in the common sentiment of reverence and love for Allston; and his life, with its comprehensive influences for good, and good alone, and good in its highest and most permanent forms, is a perfect refutation of the pernicious theory, that a great man must work out the purposes of his existence by a constant warfare against his fellow men.

Of Mr. Allston's position as an artist, we do not propose to speak; nor is it necessary to enlarge upon what is recognized by the best judges both in Europe and America. His poetical genius, as exhibited in a few well-known pieces, has been unanimously acknowledged. *The Sylphs of the Seasons*, *The Paint King*, *America to Great Britain*, to which allusion has already been made, stand, and have long stood, among the most beautiful poems in American literature.

Mr. Allston's poetical style is remarkable for the careful finishing hand with which he elaborated every part of every poem. He never fell into the negligent, slipshod, vague, and half expressed mannerism, so common in these days. His practice as an artist was carried into his writings, and applied scrupulously to every production of his pen. The exquisite purity of his language, reminding us constantly of the fine coloring of his pencil, shows how thoroughly his taste was guarded, in the atmosphere of beauty that accompanied his mind, from all touch of contemporary faults. Loving heartily every genial variety of literature, whether

belonging to the past or present, and showing, both in conversation and writing, with what a ready and versatile power he could work in different forms, he yet subjected his own style to a rigid self-criticism that harmonizes with the principles of an earlier and more classical age, rather than with the romantic outflow of the present. His poetical writings, therefore, will not undergo the changes of opinion incident to the fleeting popularity of temporary mannerism. They will stand the test of time. The criticism of posterity will find in them the same qualities to praise that have commended them to the approbation of the wisest contemporary judges.

The following little poem, expressing in words the spirit of one of Mr. Allston's most admired pictures, *Rosalie*, is one of the sweetest compositions that ever flowed from poet's pen: —

“ O, pour upon my soul again
 That sad, unearthly strain,
 That seems from other worlds to plain;
 Thus falling, falling from afar,
 As if some melancholy star
 Had mingled with her light her sighs,
 And dropped them from the skies!

“ No, — ever came from aught below
 This melody of woe,
 That makes my heart to overflow,
 As from a thousand gushing springs,
 Unknown before; that with it brings
 This nameless light, — if light it be, —
 That veils the world I see.

“ For all I see around me wears
 The hue of other spheres;
 And something blent of smiles and tears
 Comes from the very air I breathe.
 O, nothing, sure, the stars beneath
 Can mould a sadness like to this, —
 So like angelic bliss.”

So, at that dreamy hour of day
 When the last lingering ray
 Stops on the highest cloud to play, —
 So thought the gentle *Rosalie*,
 As on her maiden reverie
 First fell the strain of him who stole
 In music to her soul.

As a pendant to this, we quote the lines on Horatio Greenough's well-known Group of the Angel and Child, both as a fine example of Aliston's power of translating into poetry the conceptions of art, and of his generous appreciation of the works of other artists.

I stood alone : nor word, nor other sound,
Broke the mute solitude that closed me round ;
As when the Air doth take her midnight sleep,
Leaving the wintry stars her watch to keep,
So slept she now at noon. But not alone
My spirit then ; a light within me shone
That was not mine ; and feelings undefined,
And thoughts, flowed in upon me not my own.
'T was that deep mystery, — for aye unknown, —
The living presence of another's mind.

Another mind was there, — the gift of few, —
That by its own strong will can all things true
In its own nature unto others give,
And, mingling life with life, seem there to live.
I felt it then in mine : and, O, how fair,
How beautiful, the thoughts that met me there, —
Visions of Love and Purity and Truth !
Though³ form distinct had each, they seemed as 't were
Embodied all of *one* celestial air,
To beam for ever in coequal youth.

And thus I learned, as in the mind they moved,
These Stranger Thoughts the one the other loved ;
That Purity loved Truth, because 't was true,
And Truth, because 't was pure, the first did woo ;
While Love, as pure and true, did love the twain ;
Then Love was loved of them, for that sweet chain
That bound them all. Thus sure, as passionless,
Their love did grow, till one harmonious strain
Of melting sounds they seemed ; then, changed again,
One Angel Form they took, — Self-Happiness.

This Angel Form the gifted Artist saw,
That held me in his spell. 'T was his to draw
The veil of sense, and see the immortal race,
The Forms spiritual that know not place.
He saw it in the quarry, deep in earth,
And stayed it by his will, and gave it birth
E'en to the world of sense ; bidding its cell,
The cold, hard marble, thus in plastic girth
The shape ethereal fix, and body forth
A Being of the skies, — with man to dwell.

And then another Form beside it stood :
 'T was one of this our world, though the warm blood
 Had from it passed, — exhaled as in a breath
 Drawn from its lips by the cold kiss of Death.
 Its little “ dream of human life ” had fled ;
 And yet it seemed not numbered with the dead,
 But one emerging to a life so bright,
 That, as the wondrous nature o'er it spread,
 Its very consciousness did seem to shed
 Rays from within, and clothe it all in light.

Now touched the Angel Form its little hand,
 Turning upon it with a look so bland,
 And yet so full of majesty, as less
 Than holy natures never may impress, —
 And more than proudest guilt unmoved may brook.
 The Creature of the Earth now felt that look,
 And stood in blissful awe, — as one above,
 Who saw its name in the Eternal Book,
 And Him that opened it ; e'en Him that took
 The Little Child, and blessed it in his love.

We close our extracts from this part of the volume with a portion of the lines to the author of the *Diary of an Ennuyéé*. It will be remembered that Mrs. Jameson, whose works are among the most delightful books of the day, visited the United States some years ago, and during the lifetime of Mr. Allston. Her cultivated taste, and her enthusiastic love of the beautiful, led her to seek out and study all the pictures of our artist which were then accessible. She also became personally acquainted with the artist himself, being drawn to him not only by affinity of taste and genius, but doubtless somewhat by the impression made upon her, by this elegant poem, written long before her visit, and which we had ourselves the pleasure of placing in her hands. In the charming book Mrs. Jameson published on her return to England, appeared an eloquent and appreciating estimate of Mr. Allston.

Sweet, gentle Sibyl ! would I had the charm,
 E'en while the spell upon my heart is warm,
 To waft my spirit to thy far-off dreams,
 That, giving form and melody to air,
 The long-sealed fountains of my youth might there
 Before thee shout, and toss their starry stream,
 Flushed with the living light which youth alone
 Sheds like the flash from heaven, — that straight is gone !

For thou hast waked as from the sleep of years, —
No, not the memory, with her hopes and fears, —
But e'en the breathing, bounding, *present* youth;
And thou hast waked him in that vision clime,
Which, having seen, no eye the second time
May ever see in its own glorious truth; —
As if it *were not*, in this world of strife,
Save to the first deep consciousness of life.

And yet, by thy sweet sorcery, is mine
Again the same fresh heart, — e'en fresh as thine, —
As when, entranced, I saw the mountain kings,
The giant Alps, from their dark purple beds
Rise ere the sun,* the while their crowned heads
Flashed with his thousand heralds' golden wings;
The while the courtly Borromean Isles
Looked on their mirrored forms with rippling smiles.

E'en in thy freshness do I see thee rise,
Bright, peerless Italy, thy gorgeous skies, .
Thy lines of harmony, thy nameless hues, —
As 't were by passing Angels sportive dropped
From flowers of Paradise, but newly cropped,
Still bathed and glittering with celestial dews!
I see thee, — and again what visions pass,
Called up by thee, as in some magic glass!

Again I feel the Tuscan Zephyrs brush
My youthful brow, and see them laughing rush,
As if their touch another sense had given,
Swift o'er the dodging grass, like living things;
In myriads glancing from their flickering wings
The rose and azure of their native heaven; —
And now they mount, and through the sullen green
Of the dark laurel dart a silvery sheen.

O, now, as once, pure playmates of the soul!
Bear me, as then, where the white billows roll
Of yon ethereal ocean, poised above.
How touching thus from that o'erhanging sea
To look upon the world! Now, more to me
Its wrongs and sorrows, nay, a wider love
Grows on my heart, than where its pleasures press,*
And throng me round as one whom they would bless.

* The writer passed a night, and saw the sun rise, on the Lago Maggiore.

The portion of the volume which will excite the most interest and attention at the present moment, consists of the *Lectures on Art*, now for the first time printed. In an article published in this Journal six or seven years ago, we took occasion to allude to these discourses, which it had been our great privilege to hear read by their author. The impression we had received, and the opinion we expressed in the paper referred to, have been sustained by a careful perusal of them in print. We regard them as the most important addition to the literature of art which has been made within our memory; and the literature of art, we need not say, is one of the most attractive to people of high intellectual culture. Our language does not abound in works of this description; but the few we do possess are of great merit, as they are generally the recorded experience of practical artists. The Germans have cultivated this subject, as they have every other, with exhaustive erudition and profound speculation. The Italians, who live and move and have their being in an atmosphere of art, have also accomplished much. Lanzi's *History of Painting* is an elaborate but not very lively work. Vasari, himself a distinguished artist of the sixteenth century, and known throughout Europe by his writings, and Benvenuto Cellini, whose autobiography was translated in so masterly a manner by Goethe, are among the most eminent who have contributed by their pens to illustrate the arts to which their lives were consecrated; but their works make only a small portion of what Italy has done in this department.

In England, the classical Flaxman, known everywhere for the severe purity of his designs, delivered a course of ten lectures on Sculpture to the pupils of the Royal Academy, which, notwithstanding some literary defects owing to his imperfect training in youth, will ever remain a standard work. Especially, the two lectures on Beauty and Composition will deserve the attention of the critic, whether in literature or in art. As we read these discourses, we are constantly reminded of those matchless outlines from Homer, Æschylus, Hesiod, and Dante, appreciated and admired among all civilized nations; which, creating a severe but lovely style of art, have never been equalled or approached by any of their innumerable imitators. Fuseli's lectures are valuable, though often badly written, and abounding with half devel-

oped ideas. He was an able critic and an accomplished scholar, as his correspondence with Cowper upon that poet's translation of *Homer* shows; but he was an extravagant and tasteless artist, and the influence of his genius has nearly died away. His writings, however, deserve to keep their place in literature. It is hardly necessary to allude to Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses*, which have long since become a permanent part of the fine literature of England, on account of the quiet elegance of their style. They do not, however, handle the topics of art with much depth of philosophic insight. Their practical value, we suppose is, very great, and they must always be read wherever English culture reaches, for they are a noble monument of a great age in the history of the land of our ancestors.* Of English works in the present day, two deserve especial mention; "*The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as connected with the Fine Arts*," by Sir Charles Bell, and Mr. Ruskin's brilliant volumes on the *Painters*. The former is a matchless treatise, whether we regard the beauty and vigor of the style, the accuracy of observation, or the profound and far-reaching science exhibited in every sentence of its elaborate pages. The latter is written with much knowledge of art, and in a style whose eloquence, generally picturesque, occasionally magnificent, always exciting, yet sometimes rises into a rarefied atmosphere of expression, where meaning first becomes gaseous and then vanishes into the empyrean. The author is a bold speculator, and runs against received opinions with the dauntless intrepidity of a mailed knight in the lists of a tournament. His vivid imagination often carries his judgment captive, and we more admire the splendor of his sentences than rely upon his opinions, admit his premises, or understand his principles. He rushes fiercely into the two opposite extremes of the iconoclast and the idolater. He takes a weird delight in pulling down the Old Masters from their heights of fame, and in setting up far above them the wildest and most erring mannerist of the age.

From this brief excursion, we return to Mr. Allston. We think it must be obvious to every reflecting reader, that in

* Mr. Dana has fallen into an accidental error in mentioning Reynolds among the personal friends of Mr. Allston. Reynolds died in 1792, and Mr. Allston did not go to England until 1801.

some respects, he was better qualified to discuss the subject of art than any of his predecessors. As we have shown, he combined the most comprehensive experience in studying the great works of the artists of all ages and nations, during his long residence abroad, and especially in the plastic period of his youth, with various study and practice in kindred arts; and at the foundation of the whole lay a thorough classical education, which adorned the native elegance of his mind and manners with the fairest flowers and the ripest fruits of scholarship. In this circumstance we find one of the sources of the harmonious growth of his genius. Too many of our artists — and it is to some extent the same with the artists of other countries — enter upon the career that is to occupy their lives, unfurnished with the learning and culture which an early classical education alone can give; and they continue, to their great disadvantage and regret, to manifest a certain crudity in matters beyond their special art, and a one-sided development, materially impairing the satisfaction they would otherwise take in their pursuits and the genial influence they might exercise in their appropriate sphere. We are constantly impressed, in Mr. Allston's writings on art, with the completeness of his intellectual view, and the freedom with which he moves through the whole compass of thought in the domain of art and through all the provinces connected with it. The earlier influences of the profound and affluent genius of Coleridge left unmistakable traces upon his mind, and decided the peculiar coloring of his speculative views; but he has nowhere wandered into the obscurities which too often darkened the struggling conceptions of that great writer. Whatever of Coleridge's philosophy retained its hold upon Mr. Allston was so blended with his independent meditations, that it served only to heighten them by the hues of a spiritual manner of thinking, harmonizing admirably with the poetical light thrown by his own genius over all the objects of thought.

These discourses, four in number, contain, as it were, the essence of Allston's entire artistic life. They had grown up in his mind, not for any special occasion, but as embodying the experiences of his intellectual being. Accordingly they are, like his poems, totally free from the mannerisms of the times, and are, in the highest and best sense of the word, ori-

ginal. They have their root in his inmost nature, and they have ripened into the bright consummate flower by a gradual, slow, and organic progress. They have the completeness of his works of art, while the fresh vitality of the most intense intellectual life flows through every part of them. As we read them, we are in the presence of the very soul of Allston; and whether we agree or not with all of his philosophical statements, we are drawn into perfect sympathy with the lofty spirit of their author; we feel that the mighty magic of genius, sanctified by purity of purpose, and raised almost to prophetic grandeur by the inspiration of religion, is swaying our spirits at will.

The charm of Mr. Allston's exquisite style is here displayed in its highest perfection. Polished to that point where the fullest vigor and the nicest finish meet, it is moulded into forms of expression fitly adapted to the depth, completeness, and elegance of the thought. It is richly wrought, where the subject naturally lifts itself into the stately sweep of harmonious expression, and again falls into an unadorned simplicity, and sometimes even a rigid precision of phrase, where clearness of statement or subtlety of reasoning breaks and varies the vivid flow of the composition; and it passes through all these changes with such an equable and gentle movement, that we seem listening, as it were, to the rising and falling of an Æolian harp.

Mr. Allston did not live to complete his plan, nor did he ever deliver these discourses, as he had hoped to do, before an audience of artists and scholars in Boston. But each discourse, as we have said, forms almost a treatise by itself. We lament that we have not the series, as he intended to carry it out; but those we have lose little of their value, and none of their interest, by their isolation from the rest. In a preliminary note, Mr. Allston gives a philosophical explanation of the term *idea*, as he uses it through his Lectures. This note should be carefully studied, and the substance of it accurately remembered by the reader. It is not only a good illustration of Mr. Allston's power of metaphysical analysis, but is essential to a full understanding of many parts of the discourses that follow; indeed, it may be said to lay the foundation for his theory of art. The principal topic discussed in the introductory discourse is Beauty; and it would be interesting to compare what Mr. Allston says, with the views of Flaxman, who devotes a lec-

ture to it, and of Bell, who handles the subject briefly, but with consummate ability. Connected with this by an admirable chain of associations, are analyses of Truth, and Goodness, and the Ideas which their manifestations in form and action represent. We quote a few paragraphs.

"We do not say that these eternal Ideas of Beauty, Truth, and Goodness will, strictly speaking, always act. Though indestructible, they may be banished for a time by the perverted Will, and mockeries of the brain, like the smoke-born phantoms from the witches' caldron in Macbeth, take their places, and assume their functions. We have examples of this in every age, and perhaps in none more startling than in the present. But we mean only that they cannot be *forgotten*: nay, they are but too often recalled with unwelcome distinctness. Could we read the annals which must needs be scored on every heart, — could we look upon those of the aged reprobate, — who will doubt that their darkest passages are those made visible by the distant gleams from these angelic Forms, that, like the Three which stood before the tent of Abraham, once looked upon his youth?

"And we doubt not that the truest witness to the common source of these inborn Ideas would readily be acknowledged by all, could they return to it now with their matured power of introspection, which is, at least, one of the few advantages of advancing years. But, though we cannot bring back youth, we may still recover much of its purer revelations of our nature from what has been left in the memory. From the dim present, then, we would appeal to that fresher time, ere the young spirit had shrunk from the overbearing pride of the understanding, and confidently ask, if the emotions we then felt from the Beautiful, the True, and the Good, did not seem in some way to refer to a common origin. And we would also ask, if it was then frequent that the influence from one was *singly* felt, — if it did not rather bring with it, however remotely, a sense of something, though widely differing, yet still akin to it. When we have basked in the beauty of a summer sunset, was there nothing in the sky that spoke to the soul of Truth and Goodness? And when the opening intellect first received the truth of the great law of gravitation, or felt itself mounting through the profound of space, to travel with the planets in their unerring rounds, did never then the kindred Ideas of Goodness and Beauty chime in, as it were, with the fabled music, — not fabled to the soul, — which led you on like one entranced?

"And again, when, in the passive quiet of your moral nature, so predisposed in youth to all things genial, you have looked abroad on this marvellous, ever teeming Earth, — ever teeming alike for mind and body, — and have felt upon you flow, as from

ten thousand springs of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, ten thousand streams of innocent enjoyment; did you not then *almost hear* them shout in confluence, and almost *see* them gushing upwards, as if they would prove their unity, in one harmonious fountain?"

We should like to quote several passages from the same lecture, on the Sublime; but we must hurry forward to other topics, after one more paragraph on Beauty.

"It would seem, then, that, in relation to man, Beauty is the extreme point, or last summit, of the natural world, since it is in that that we recognize the highest emotion of which we are susceptible from the purely physical. If we ascend thence into the moral, we shall find its influence diminish in the same ratio with our upward progress. In the continuous chain of creation of which it forms a part, the link above it where the moral modification begins seems scarcely changed, yet the difference, though slight, demands another name, and the nomenclator within us calls it *Elegance*; in the next connecting link, the moral adjunct becomes more predominant, and we call it *Majesty*; in the next, the physical becomes still fainter, and we call the union *Grandeur*; in the next, it seems almost to vanish, and a new form rises before us, so mysterious, so undefined and elusive to the senses, that we turn, as if for its more distinct image, within ourselves, and there, with wonder, amazement, awe, we see it filling, distending, stretching every faculty, till, like the Giant of Otranto, it seems almost to burst the imagination: under this strange confluence of opposite emotions, this terrible pleasure, we call the awful form *Sublimity*. This was the still small voice that shook the Prophet on Horeb;—though small to his ear, it was more than his imagination could contain; he could not hear it again and live."

The next discourse is on the general subject of Art and its characteristics, especially in relation to Painting and Sculpture. These characteristics are laid down as Originality, Human or Poetic Truth, Invention, and Unity, the synthesis of them all. They are treated with consummate eloquence and ability; and the principles here developed apply as well to elegant literature as to the special subject of Painting or Sculpture. But instead of quoting any part of his general observations or reasonings, we will transfer to our pages a description of a Dutch painting, illustrative of Mr. Allston's ideas of invention, followed by another in a very different style; and we shall confess ourselves entirely mistaken if the reader does not feel that the word-pictures before him are vivid transcripts of

their originals, such as never before have been committed to language.

"The interior of a Dutch cottage forms the scene of Ostade's work, presenting something between a kitchen and a stable. Its principal object is the carcass of a hog, newly washed and hung up to dry; subordinate to which is a woman nursing an infant; the accessories, various garments, pots, kettles, and other culinary utensils.

"The bare enumeration of these coarse materials would naturally predispose the mind of one, unacquainted with the Dutch school, to expect any thing but pleasure; indifference, not to say disgust, would seem to be the only possible impression from a picture composed of such ingredients. And such, indeed, would be their effect under the hand of any but a real Artist. Let us look into the picture, and follow Ostade's *mind*, as it leaves its impress on the several objects. Observe how he spreads his principal light, from the suspended carcass to the surrounding objects, moulding it, so to speak, into agreeable shapes, here by extending it to a bit of drapery, there to an earthen pot; then connecting it, by the flash from a brass kettle, with his second light, the woman and child; and again turning the eye into the dark recesses through a labyrinth of broken chairs, old baskets, roosting fowls, and bits of straw, till a glimpse of sunshine, from a half-open window, gleams on the eye, as it were, like an echo, and sending it back to the principal object, which now seems to act on the mind as the luminous source of all these diverging lights. But the magical whole is not yet completed; the mystery of color has been called in to the aid of light, and so subtly blends that we can hardly separate them; at least, until their united effect has first been felt, and after we have begun the process of cold analysis. Yet, even then, we cannot long proceed before we find the charm returning; as we pass from the blaze of light on the carcass, where all the tints of the prism seem to be faintly subdued, we are met on its borders by the dark harslet, glowing like rubies; then we repose awhile on the white cap and kerchief of the nursing mother; then we are roused again by the flickering strife of the antagonist colors on a blue jacket and red petticoat; then the strife is softened by the low yellow of a straw-bottomed chair; and thus with alternating excitement and repose do we travel through the picture, till the scientific explorer loses the analyst in the unresisting passiveness of a poetic dream. Now, all this will no doubt appear to many, if not absurd, at least exaggerated; but not so to those who have ever felt the sorcery of color. They, we are sure, will be the last to question the character of the feeling because of the ingredients, which worked the spell, and

if true to themselves, they must call it poetry. Nor will they consider it any disparagement to the all-accomplished Raphael to say of Ostade that he also was an Artist.

"We turn now to a work of the great Italian, — the Death of Ananias. The scene is laid in a plain apartment, which is wholly devoid of ornament, as became the hall of audience of the primitive Christians. The Apostles (then eleven in number) have assembled to transact the temporal business of the Church, and are standing together on a slightly elevated platform, about which, in various attitudes, some standing, others kneeling, is gathered a promiscuous assemblage of their new converts, male and female. This quiet assembly (for we still feel its quietness in the midst of the awful judgment) is suddenly roused by the sudden fall of one of their brethren; some of them turn and see him struggling in the agonies of death. A moment before he was in the vigor of life, — as his muscular limbs still bear evidence; but he had uttered a falsehood, and an instant after his frame is convulsed from head to foot. Nor do we doubt for a moment as to the awful cause; it is almost expressed in voice by those nearest to him; and, though varied by their different temperaments, by terror, astonishment, and submissive faith, this voice has yet but one meaning, — 'Ananias has lied to the Holy Ghost.' The terrible words, as if audible to the mind, now direct us to him who pronounced his doom, and the singly-raised finger of the Apostle marks him the judge; yet not of himself, — for neither his attitude, air, nor expression has any thing in unison with the impetuous Peter, — he is now the simple, passive, yet awful instrument of the Almighty: while another on the right, with equal calmness, though with more severity, by his elevated arm, as beckoning to judgment, anticipates the fate of the entering Sapphira. Yet all is not done; lest a question remain, the Apostle on the left confirms the judgment. No one can mistake what passes within him; like one transfixed in adoration, his uplifted eyes seem to ray out his soul, as if in recognition of the divine tribunal. But the overpowering thought of Omnipotence is now tempered by the human sympathy of his companion, whose open hands, connecting the past with the present, seem almost to articulate, 'Alas, my brother!' By this exquisite turn, we are next brought to John, the gentle almoner of the Church, who is dealing out their portions to the needy brethren. And here, as most remote from the judged Ananias, whose suffering seems not yet to have reached it, we find a spot of repose, — not to pass by, but to linger upon, till we feel its quiet influence diffusing itself over the whole mind; nay, till, connecting it with the beloved Disciple, we find it leading us back through the exciting scene, modifying even our deepest emotions with a kindred tranquillity.

"This is Invention; we have not moved a step through the picture but at the will of the Artist. He invented the chain which we have followed, link by link, through every emotion, assimilating many into one; and this is the secret by which he prepared us, without exciting horror, to contemplate the struggle of mortal agony.

"This too is Art; and the highest art, when thus the awful power, without losing its character, is tempered, as it were, to our mysterious desires. In the work of Ostade, we see the same inventive power, no less effective, though acting through the medium of the humblest materials."

We add to these a magnificent passage on the Farnese Hercules, contrasted with the Apollo Belvedere, in illustration of his idea of Truth.

"Of the immutable nature of this peculiar Truth, we have a like instance in the Farnese Hercules; the work of the Grecian sculptor Glycon, — we had almost said his immortal offspring. Since the time of its birth, cities and empires, even whole nations, have disappeared, giving place to others, more or less barbarous or civilized; yet these are as nothing to the countless revolutions which have marked the interval in the manners, habits, and opinions of men. Is it reasonable, then, to suppose that any thing not immutable in its nature could possibly have withstood such continual fluctuation? But how have all these changes affected this *visible image of Truth*? In no wise; not a jot; and because what is *true* is independent of opinion; it is the same to us now as it was to the men of the dust of antiquity. The unlearned spectator of the present day may not, indeed, see in it the Demi-god of Greece: but he can never mistake it for a mere exaggeration of the human form; though of mortal mould, he cannot doubt its possession of more than mortal powers; he feels its *essential life*, for he feels before it as in the stirring presence of a superior being.

"Perhaps the attempt to give form and substance to a pure Idea was never so perfectly accomplished as in this wonderful figure. Who has ever seen the ocean in repose, in its awful sleep, that smooths it like glass, yet cannot level its unfathomed swell? So seems to us the repose of this tremendous personification of strength: the laboring eye heaves on its slumbering sea of muscles, and trembles like a skiff as it passes over them; but the silent intimations of the spirit beneath at length become audible; the startled imagination hears it in its rage, sees it in motion, and sees its resistless might in the passive wrecks that follow the uproar. And this from a piece of marble, cold, immovable, life-

less! Surely there is that in man, which the senses cannot reach, nor the plumb of the understanding sound.

"Let us now turn to the Apollo called Belvedere. In this supernal being, the human form seems to have been assumed as if to make visible the harmonious confluence of the pure ideas of grace, fleetness, and majesty; nor do we think it too fanciful to add celestial splendor; for such, in effect, are the thoughts which crowd, or rather rush, into the mind on first beholding it. Who that saw it in what may be called the place of its glory, the Gallery of Napoleon, ever thought of it as a man, much less as a statue; but did not feel rather as if the vision before him were of another world, — of one who had just lighted on the earth, and with a step so ethereal, that the next instant he would vault into the air? If I may be permitted to recall the impression which it made on myself, I know not that I could better describe it than as a sudden intellectual flash, filling the whole mind with light — and light in motion. It seemed to the mind what the first sight of the sun is to the senses, as it emerges from the ocean; when from a point of light the whole orb at once appears to bound from the waters, and to dart its rays, as by a visible explosion, through the profound of space. But, as the deified Sun, how completely is the conception verified in the thoughts that follow the effulgent original and its marble counterpart! Perennial youth, perennial brightness, follow them both. Who can imagine the old age of the sun? As soon may we think of an old Apollo. Now all this may be ascribed to the imagination of the beholder. Granted, — yet will it not thus be explained away. For that is the very faculty addressed by every work of Genius, — whose nature is *suggestive*; and only when it excites to or awakens congenial thoughts and emotions, filling the imagination with corresponding images, does it attain its proper end. The false and the commonplace can never do this.

"It were easy to multiply similar examples; the bare mention of a single name in modern art might conjure up a host, — the name of Michael Angelo, the mighty sovereign of the Ideal, than whom no one ever trod so near, yet so securely, the dizzy brink of the Impossible."

The next discourse is on the subject of Form, and upon this much disputed matter we think Mr. Allston has thrown a great deal of new light. He thus summarily and satisfactorily disposes of a very common theory, — that of an ideal or standard form.

"Let us now endeavor to form some general notion of Man in his various aspects, as presented by the myriads which people the

earth. But whose imagination is equal to the task, -- to the setting in array before it the countless multitudes, each individual in his proper form, his proper character? Were this possible, we should stand amazed at the interminable differences, the hideous variety; and that, too, no less in the moral, than in the physical; nay, so opposite and appalling in the former as hardly to be figured by a chain of animals, taking for the extremes the fierce and filthy hyena and the inoffensive lamb. This is man in the concrete, -- to which, according to some, is to be applied the *abstract Ideal!*

"Now, let us attempt to conceive of a being that shall represent all the diversities of mind, affections, and dispositions, that fleck this heterogeneous mass of humanity, and then to conceive of a Form that shall be in such perfect affinity with it as to indicate them all. The bare statement of the proposition shows its absurdity. Yet this must be the office of a Standard Form; and this it must do, or it will be a falsehood. Nor should we find it easier with any given number, with twenty, fifty, nay, an hundred (so called) generic forms. We do not hesitate to affirm, that, were it possible, it would be quite as easy with one as with a thousand."

The empirical rules are then examined, and the ground, or rather groundlessness, of most of them, is clearly set forth; but, in conclusion, they are admitted to be *expedient fictions*, -- in other words, not absolute laws, but only such practical directions as may be set aside by the higher authority of the artist "in whose mind alone is the ultimate rule."

The fourth and last discourse is on Composition, of which Mr. Allston lays down the following as the required characteristics.

"First, Unity of Purpose, as expressing the general sentiment or intention of the Artist. Secondly, Variety of Parts, as expressed in the diversity of shape, quantity, and line. Thirdly, Continuity, as expressed by the connection of parts with each other, and their relation to the whole. Fourthly, Harmony of Parts."

The following brief sketches will exhibit the manner in which some of these characteristics are illustrated.

"In the wild and stormy scenes of *Salvator Rosa*, they break upon us as with the angular flash of lightning; the eye is dashed up one precipice only to be dashed down another; then, suddenly hurried to the sky, it shoots up, almost in a direct line, to some sharp-edged rock; whence pitched, as it were, into a sea of clouds,

bellying with circles, it partakes their motion, and seems to reel, to roll, and to plunge with them into the depths of air.

"If we pass from *Salvator* to *Claude*, we shall find a system of lines totally different. Our first impression from *Claude* is that of perfect *unity*, and this we have even before we are conscious of a single image; as if, circumscribing his scenes by a magic circle, he had imposed his own mood on all who entered it. The *spell* then opens ere it seems to have begun, acting upon us with a vague sense of limitless expanse, yet so continuous, so gentle, so imperceptible in its remotest gradations, as scarcely to be felt, till, combining with unity, we find the feeling embodied in the complete image of intellectual repose, — fulness and rest. The mind thus disposed, the charmed eye glides into the scene: a soft, undulating light leads it on, from bank to bank, from shrub to shrub; now leaping and sparkling over pebbly brooks and sunny sands; now fainter and fainter, dying away down shady slopes, then seemingly quenched in some secluded dell; yet only for a moment, — for a dimmer ray again carries it onward, gently winding among the boles of trees and rambling vines, that, skirting the ascent, seem to hem in the twilight; then emerging into day, it flashes in sheets over towers and towns, and woods and streams, when it finally dips into an ocean, so far off, so twin-like with the sky, that the doubtful horizon, unmarked by a line, leaves no point of rest: and now, as in a flickering arch, the fascinated eye seems to sail upward like a bird, wheeling its flight through a mottled labyrinth of clouds, on to the zenith; whence, gently inflected by some shadowy mass, it slants again downward to a mass still deeper, and still to another, and another, until it falls into the darkness of some massive tree, — focused like midnight in the brightest noon: there stops the eye, instinctively closing, and giving place to the Soul, there to repose and to dream her dreams of romance and love."

The following pithy paragraph is of universal application.

"We might go on thus with every great name in Art. But these examples are enough to show how much even the most original minds, not only may, but *must*, owe to others; for the social law of our nature applies no less to the intellect than to the affections. When applied to genius, it may be called the social inspiration, the simple statement of which seems to us of itself a solution of the oft-repeated question, 'Why is it that genius always appears in clusters?' To Nature, indeed, we must all at last recur, as to the only true and permanent foundation of real excellence. But Nature is open to all men alike, in her beauty, her majesty, her grandeur, and her sublimity. Yet who will assert that all men see, or, if they see, are impressed by these her

attributes alike? Nay, so great is the difference, that one might almost suppose them inhabitants of different worlds. Of Claude, for instance, it is hardly a metaphor to say that he lived in two worlds during his natural life; for Claude the pastry-cook could never have seen the same world that was made visible to Claude the painter. It was human sympathy, acting through human works, that gave birth to his intellect at the age of forty. There is something, perhaps, ludicrous in the thought of an infant of forty. Yet the fact is a solemn one, that thousands die whose minds have never been born."

With these passages we must close our notice of these precious remains, — this golden legacy to the art and literature of our country. The book will sink deeply into the mind of the age, and its influence will slowly but surely extend itself through the whole domain of American culture. We rejoice to hear that the *Life and Correspondence of Mr. Allston*, — now, it is understood, in preparation by a distinguished relative and a kindred genius, — will soon be published. We can foresee, and we venture to predict for them, a welcome as cordial as the warmest friends of the subject and the editor can desire.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Papers and Correspondence relative to the Arctic Expedition under Sir John Franklin.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed March 5, 1850. Folio.

2. *The Franklin Expedition, or Considerations on Measures for the Discovery and Relief of our Absent Adventurers in the Arctic Regions.* With Maps. By the Rev. W. SCORESBY, D. D., Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, Member of the Institute of France, &c. London. 1850.

Just a year ago, an account was given in this journal of Sir John Franklin's disappearance, and the expeditions sent to his relief. The last have returned, Franklin has not. The want of success in these expeditions has aroused an enthusiastic interest in the fate of the lost navigator, both in England and in the United States, which is as characteristic of the present

age, as the Crusades were of the times called the Dark Ages. The failure of the late relief expeditions does not seem owing to any want of energy on the part of the commanders, as a sketch of their proceedings will show.

Sir James Ross left England in June, 1848, and passed Upernavik, on the western coast of Greenland, on the 13th of July. As he advanced to the north, he found the ice was of unprecedented solidity. The whalers, that had kept company with him, soon turned back, abandoning all hope of crossing Baffin's Bay. By persevering, he succeeded in forcing his way to the western shore, and reached Pond's Bay on the 23d of August. Observing that the ice rested upon the land a few miles to the south, he sailed towards the north, close along the shore, watching narrowly for any boats that might contain the lost party; in fog and at night, guns were fired and rockets sent up, to attract their notice if they should be on that coast; and at suitable points, parties were sent on shore to look for any indications of their having ever been there. Thus he arrived, on the 1st of September, off Cape York, at the eastern point of the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet. Having dropped overboard many casks containing notices that a depot of provisions would be found at Port Leopold, off the western shore of the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet, it was a matter of importance to reach this port and make the deposit. He was shut out, however, by a solid mass of ice extending fourteen miles from the shore. Turning then to the northern shore of Barrow's Strait, he found Wellington Channel frozen firmly over; standing then to the west, he found Barrow's Strait in that direction an unbroken mass of ice from shore to shore. Driven back to Port Leopold, he struggled through the loosened ice into the harbor on the 11th of September; the ice closed over the entrance the very night after his entrance, shutting both ships in till the end of the next August.

When spring permitted the men to leave the ships, Sir James Ross with one party on foot explored the coast line to the west as far as Cape Bunny, longitude $95^{\circ} 20' W.$, then, following its bending to the south, to latitude $72^{\circ} 38' N.$, longitude $95^{\circ} 40' W.$ At this extreme of his journey, there was a high point from which the coast could be traced with the eye fifty miles farther. Another expedition followed down

the western shore of Prince Regent's Inlet to Fury Beach, in latitude $72^{\circ} 45' N.$, while a third crossed to the northern shore of Barrow's Strait. None of them found any trace of Franklin's party. Building a house on shore, and leaving in it provisions for a year, fuel, and other necessities, besides a steam launch large enough to carry the lost navigators to the common whaling grounds, Sir James Ross succeeded in extricating his ships from the harbor on the 11th of August, 1849, after a year's detention.

He at once proceeded towards the northern shore of Barrow's Strait. He saw nothing to the west but an unbroken field of ice; the ice stopped him in his progress when within twelve miles of the shore. The floating masses gradually enclosed the ships, then freezing together, fastened them as firmly as if they were imbedded in rock. The mass was stationary a few days, then drifted eastward, at the rate of eight or ten miles per day, to the entrance of Lancaster Sound. The current here turning to the south, the two crews, prison bound in their island fifty miles in circumference, were floating helplessly along the coast, when a number of grounded icebergs were seen directly in their path. Destruction seemed inevitable. But, while many hearts were beating with apprehension of the expected collision, the whole field in which the ships were enclosed was suddenly rent into fragments, as if by some unseen power. All dashing against each other, they filled the sea with new dangers. But the strenuous exertions of the men were successful, and the ships were again in clear water, on the 25th of September. This was too late to return to Barrow's Strait; the expedition was foiled. The commander could only begin the homeward voyage, to bear the tale of bitter disappointment to England.

Sir John Richardson, who had command of the overland expedition, left England in March, 1848. Travelling over the British possessions, he reached the mouth of Mackenzie's River on the 4th of August. As he followed the coast in his boats to Cape Bathurst, he found the sea entirely open, and the shores populous with Esquimaux. The natives told him that, for six weeks in midsummer, no ice can be seen there from the loftiest headlands. Yet not one of them had seen the lost ships, or any of their boats on this open water, nor had they ever heard of them. After rounding Cape Bathurst, Sir John Richardson found the appearance of the sea was

changed. Floes of ice appeared ; they became more numerous and extensive as he advanced, till, on the 3rd of September, when he had passed Cape Hearne in Coronation Gulf, finding the sea was solid, he landed with his party and travelled to winter quarters on the Coppermine. He felt assured, from the representations of the Esquimaux, that Franklin's party had not been in sight of any part of the shore which he had examined. He returned to England in the following spring. Dr. Rae, however, remained to examine the strait which, some suppose, leads northwardly between Wollaston Island and Victoria Land to the ocean. Tidings ought to have arrived from him ere now, but we have heard of none yet.

Commander Moore sailed from England, with the intention of passing through Behring Strait and examining the shores to the north in the summer of 1848. But his vessel was so dull a sailer that he had to winter on the shores of Kamtschatka, without reaching the Strait. Leaving his winter harbor next season, he passed through, in the beginning of July, 1849, and was immediately joined by Captain Kellet, with the *Herald*, who had just arrived from England. They sailed together up the American coast to longitude 160° W., and latitude $70^{\circ} 20'$ N., where they fitted out the *Herald's* thirty feet pinnace, and two twenty-seven feet whaleboats, to explore the coast beyond Point Barrow. Leaving them on the 25th of July, the ships sailed due north to latitude $71^{\circ} 05'$ N., where they met the pack of ice extending from N. W. by W., to N. E., as far as the eye could reach. The ice was dirty colored, and five or six feet high, except some pinnacles deeply seated in the pack, which Captain Kellet says, had no doubt been thrown up by the floes coming in contact. They sailed along the edge of the pack in a northwesterly direction, till the 28th of July, when they reached latitude $70^{\circ} 51'$ N., longitude 168° W. As before, the ice was five or six feet high, dirty colored, showing an outline without a break in it, and having the same appearance of columns and pinnacles some distance in. Commander Moore thought he saw an appearance of land towards the north. The ice was so firm, that although the wind was off the pack, there was not a particle of loose or drift ice, and, as far as could be seen from the mast head, it trended away W. S. W. At this point, Commander Moore

and the ice master reported a water sky to the north; and a strong "ice blink," (or glare indicating the presence of ice,) to the southwest. They returned to Wainwright Inlet on the 2nd of August, and went to sea again on the same day. Captain Kellet, steering west, found a shoal, ten miles in diameter, latitude $70^{\circ} 20' N.$, longitude $171^{\circ} W.$, and landed on a triangular rocky island, a few miles in extent, rising to a lofty peak, latitude $71^{\circ} 20' N.$, longitude $175^{\circ} 16' W.$ From this island, mountainous land was distinctly seen in the north and west, at the distance of thirty-five miles. The unbroken pack of ice here stretched northerly and to the E. S. E., presenting an impenetrable barrier to the advance of the ship. Returning to the American shore, Captain Kellett met Mr. Martin, who had returned with the pinnace from his exploration of the shore, and a Mr. Shedden, who had come to this icy region in his yacht by way of taking a pleasure trip, and had accompanied the boats around Point Barrow. The pinnace and whaleboats, though obstructed by the ice, had advanced forty miles beyond Point Barrow, to a low sandy islet four or five miles off shore, off the east point of Dease Inlet, as marked by Simpson. Pullen continued east with the whaleboats, to examine the coast as far as the mouth of the Mackenzie River, so as to connect with Sir John Richardson's examination. Captain Kellet says he learned from Mr. Martin, that the water east of Point Barrow is extremely shallow; that the yacht grounded and was obliged to return. Commander Moore says, — "Mr. Martin reports that the water is exceedingly shallow off and about Elson Bay, and that, although the summer has been an exceedingly favorable one in every respect for a vessel coming through, yet the depth of water necessary is wanting; this, together with the northeast current, and the prevalence of southwest winds, renders the northwest passage, in my opinion, decidedly unattainable." Captain Kellet soon afterwards took his ship to the Pacific, and Commander Moore laid his vessel up in winter quarters near Behring Strait, so as to resume the examination early in the season of 1850. The Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company has published a letter, stating that Mr. Pullen had arrived at the mouth of the Mackenzie River without finding a trace of Franklin.

When Sir James Ross started, it was intended that he should send home one of his vessels in the second season, and prosecute the search alone. But the Admiralty, wishing to make the expedition more effective, sent Mr. Saunders in the "North Star" to Lancaster Sound, with supplies, in May, 1849. If, after delivering the supplies, the water were open and he had ample time, he was to look into Smith's and Jones's Sounds, to ascertain, if possible, whether Sir John Franklin's ships had entered either of those inlets. His instructions added, "we desire that you will carefully avoid risking all hazard of the 'North Star' being detained a winter in that region;" "but you are distinctly to understand, that this permission [to join in the search] is given only in case of your joining sufficiently early for that purpose, and of your paying implicit obedience to our order that you return to England, so as to run no risk of being shut up in the ice."

Of course, no officer would dream of disregarding such orders, and since Mr. Saunders has not returned, it is very clear he could not. The last news we have of him is a letter dated 19th of July, 1849, latitude $74^{\circ} 3'$ N., longitude $59^{\circ} 40'$ W., which speaks of the amount of ice opposing him as very discouraging. The letter was brought by the captain of a whaler, whose vessel had been crushed, and who was sailing in his boats to the Danish settlements in Greenland, when he met the "North Star." None of the whalers that penetrated to the western shore of Baffin's Bay last season saw any trace of the ship. Two sailed into Lancaster Sound, until they met the unbroken ice extending from shore to shore, without seeing a trace of any vessel. A Captain Gravitt landed on one of the capes at the entrance of Jones's Sound, and surveyed the Sound through a telescope forty or fifty miles from its entrance, without seeing any evidence of any vessel ever having been there. The "North Star" is another missing ship.

With all our admiration of the explorers, it is difficult to read these narratives without disappointment. The result of the expeditions may be summed up almost in the very words that we used a year ago in anticipation; a northwest passage has not been discovered; the northern coast of the continent has been traced from the Pacific almost to the Atlantic; but little has been added to what was already known of the geo-

graphy of the arctic regions, and of Franklin, still all that can be said is, that while there is doubt, there is hope.

So far was Ross from discovering a northwest passage, that he found impenetrable ice where its eastern beginning was looked for; and Commander Moore, after examining the sea north of Behring Strait, says such a passage is, in his opinion, decidedly unattainable. The additions to our knowledge of geography are quickly summed up; Sir James Ross traced a hundred miles of coast, which seemed to be the shore of an inlet; Commander Moore thought he saw an appearance of land over the ice, northwest from Point Barrow; and Captain Kellet, besides discovering a shoal and two small islands, saw mountainous land afar off over the ice.

In regard to the lost party, the results are all negative, but sadly significant. In a thorough examination of the shores of the continent from Behring Strait to the Coppermine, not a trace of the party was found, nor was a native met who had seen or heard any thing of it. The explorations of Sir James Ross, it is true, were not very extensive; but his long stay at Port Leopold is big with inference. If Franklin had been arrested by the ice within three hundred miles of the entrance to Prince Regent's Inlet, he would certainly have travelled back to it on the ice, before the end of the summer of 1849, as the surest means of returning to England. Now had he proceeded directly west, towards Melville Island, he would certainly have been arrested within that distance; had he attempted to advance to the south of west, beyond Cape Walker, there is every reason for believing he would scarcely have gone half so far. Or had he attempted to penetrate into Prince Regent's Inlet, in quest of the strait which was believed, four years ago, to connect it with the ocean to the west, he could not have gone three hundred miles. Since, therefore, no one of Sir John Franklin's party reached the mouth of the inlet so late even as last August, nor was met by any of Sir James Ross's exploring parties, which scoured all the surrounding region that spring, we are almost compelled to infer, that Sir John Franklin adopted none of these courses. The only other course left was through Wellington Channel, and the other channels flowing between the Parry Islands. But the papers published by order of the House of Commons shake one's confidence a little in the hope that these chan-

nels communicate with an ocean to the north. The general expectation of finding a passage through them is founded entirely on Sir Edward Parry's narrative. When he sailed by the entrance of Wellington Channel in 1819, it appeared from the mast head to be as free from ice as the middle of the ocean. No ice but field ice, we believe, has been found west of Barrow Strait. From the observations of Captain Kellet last summer, it appears that field ice cannot be seen from the mast head at a greater distance than eleven miles. Hence, Parry's narrative only shows that, in the summer of 1819, there was no ice in Wellington Channel within eleven miles of its juncture with Barrow's Strait. Sir Edward Parry also says, that he saw no ice whatever in the channel, when he returned in the following year. He does not state how nearly he approached the channel; but his course, as marked upon his chart, shows that he was not within thirty miles of it. Of course, he saw no ice. All we know is, that in the summer of 1819, there was no ice in Wellington Channel within eleven miles of Barrow's Strait, and in 1848 and 1849, it was firmly frozen over all summer.

We can only say, it may be a channel leading to the Arctic Ocean, or, may be an inlet or bay. If it is an inlet or bay, we know from the experience of navigators in the great inlet called Prince Regent's, that no ship could force its way 300 miles from its mouth. But if Franklin's ships had been arrested within 300 miles of its mouth, his party would have found their way back over the ice in the spring. Since they did not, we must infer, that if Wellington Channel is an inlet or bay, Franklin is not there. If it is a channel communicating with an ocean to the north, and favorable weather enabled him to force his way through, we are at a loss to conjecture his fate. But the little we know leads inevitably to the conclusion, that the expanse of water spreading to the north of the region about the Mackenzie River is a part of the Arctic Ocean. If Franklin had penetrated to the ocean, it therefore seems likely, that some part of his expedition would have been able to prosecute its route over this open sea to the continent. Since no part of the expedition has appeared within sight of the continent on this sea, we have some reason, (very doubtful it is true,) for supposing that Franklin did not enter Wellington Channel, even if it is a channel communicating with the ocean to the north.

It seems now, that Franklin had another project in view, in case all that were suggested in his instructions should fail. Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman living in the north of Scotland, has written to the Admiralty, that he had a conversation with Franklin just before he took his last leave of British soil. The unfortunate navigator then said, if he failed in all these attempts, he would retrace his way through Barrow Strait, and advancing up Baffin's Bay, would endeavor to find a passage through Jones's Sound. The Admiralty do not appear to give full credence to the story; as to the success of such an enterprise, it is impossible to say any thing. Nothing, in fact, was known of Jones's Sound, save its existence, until a whaler captain surveyed its shores last summer, with a telescope, as far as he could see from its mouth.

What does all this amount to? That there is some reason, be it much or little, there is some reason, for supposing that Franklin never entered Barrow's Strait. What then? That on the very threshold of the voyage, before the region of discovery was reached, his luckless vessels were crushed by the icebergs off Baffin's Bay, and every life on board lost. This notion, which will at times force itself upon us, is somewhat countenanced by the reported dangers of Baffin's Bay. The whole central portion of the Bay is covered in summer with broken ice, floes, and bergs, setting towards the ocean, called by the whalers, the "middle ice." It leaves but little open water on the western shore, none at all, indeed, near Davis Straits; but on the eastern shore, there is generally, after the first of June, sufficient navigable water. Vessels arriving at Lancaster Sound sail up the western coast of Greenland, generally as far as Melville Bay. In favorable seasons, they can push through the ice in a lower latitude. But the common practice is to coast up to Melville Bay, and then, in the latter part of June, or beginning of July, double the "middle ice," or sail round its northern edge. Unhappily, southwesterly storms are apt to prevail there at this season, driving the "middle ice" on to the shore, and crushing or overwhelming the ships in its way. So many disasters have happened from this cause, that the passage of Melville Bay is called by the whalers, the Devil's Nip. An eye witness, writing to Dr. Scoresby, mentioned the loss of nine ships in 1819, about eleven sail in a year or two after, and twelve or thirteen in the following season.

A numerical catalogue of shipwrecks, will not give so clear an idea of the peculiar dangers of this coast, as an abstract of Dr. Scoresby's full and spirited account of the season of 1830. Forty sail of whalers were in Melville Bay on the 11th of June, 1830, fastened to the edge of the land-ice, which extended many miles out from shore, when the middle ice began to close in upon them. On the 24th, there being indications of a storm, the crews cut canals into the land ice, some hundred feet deep, and drew their ships in for protection. The whole visible expanse was covered with ice; to the east, with the smooth, unbroken land ice; to the west, with the floes and icebergs that made "middle ice." The storm burst forth next day, driving the seaward ice furiously on towards the ships. Floes, dashing against each other, piled up huge ridges, in mimicry of the bergs. The accumulated mass bore against the land ice, crumbling its outer edge, annihilating the canals of refuge, and dealing destruction among the ships. Some were raised by the pressure, some were thrown upon their beam ends; the broadsides of some were broken in; others were squeezed flat, and tossed over on the level ice. One was pitched upon her stern, in the posture of a rearing horse; others were thrown upon the smooth ice, and buried under the advancing floes; in one instance, at least, a ship was so quickly covered over in this way, that in a few moments nothing was to be seen but the outer end of the mizzen-boom. The air was fluttering with signals of distress, and the land ice was peopled with shipwrecked sailors. All set earnestly to work deepening the canals, to preserve what vessels were not yet destroyed. After raging a few days, the storm lulled. It rested a few days, then broke forth again with as great fury as before. The bergs again ploughed through the field ice, floes again were heaped up into hillocks, and the remaining vessels were battered as before. When, at last, continuous fine weather had released the remnant of the fleet from their dangerous situation, it was found that twenty ships were lost, and the rest were more or less injured. Few lives, however, were lost; very few, indeed, except in cases of men attempting long journeys over the ice while intoxicated. The life lost in 1819 was from the same cause. But if the ships, instead of being moored to a firm plain, on which the wrecked mariners found an asylum, had been a hundred miles from

land, entangled in the floating ice, we see but little chance of the men or ships escaping destruction.

A plain landsman can scarcely read these accounts, bearing in mind at the same time that Franklin, when last seen, was in this calamitous region, and that no trace of his party has been found, without having some fear that the ships were destroyed here, before the expedition was actually begun. Men of nautical experience, however, especially whalers, who are most versed in the dangers of Melville Bay, seem, to fear nothing of the sort. They all say it would be singular that one ship, and incredible that two, sailing in company, should be so entirely destroyed as to leave not a remnant to be discovered; that in the annals of navigation, the loss of *La Perouse* is the only instance of such a thing. No one in England discusses the question whether or not Franklin's party still survive; the doubt is, where they are to be found. The most experienced officers in the British navy, and men of every profession, in this country as well as in England, have published plans for sending relief, and all assume that the lost navigators are only ice-bound in the frozen north. Amidst all who exhibit interest in the lost expedition, stands conspicuous the untiring wife of its commander. Wherever a word is wanted to awaken zeal, or call dormant energy into life, there is heard the entreating voice of Lady Jane Franklin. She has infused her own enthusiasm into the phlegmatic Board of Admiralty; she has roused a chivalric spirit in the rude whalers of Aberdeen; all the arctic research of England and America, at her invocation, comes from the study and the cabin to throw light on the obscure regions of the north; and her prayers of dignified pathos have awakened responsive tones in the hearts of two great nations. The British Parliament and the American Congress, the British Admiralty and the American Navy Department, British and American citizens, are active in the efforts to which she has stimulated them.

The want of success of last year has only whetted the appetite for enterprise. Instead of four vessels provisioned for two years, a dozen vessels are now sent out, supplied with everything that ingenuity can devise, and provisioned for three years. The discoverers are instigated also by the spirit of emulation. They are all resolved to do more than was done last year. And, among themselves, English perse-

verance is put in competition with American energy, regularly commissioned parties vie with volunteers, the Hudson Bay Company, whalers, and the navy contend with each other. Captain Collinson of the navy is sent to Bhering Strait with the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, Ross's ships. He is to attach Commander Moore to his command, and, for this summer, is to be joined by Captain Keller. He is to proceed to Point Barrow, (beyond which Moore says the water is too shallow for a little yacht,) then to explore wherever it seems best. Two injunctions only are imperative: that nothing whatever is to divert the expedition from its object, the relief of the lost party; and that two vessels must always be in company, so that if one should be lost, the crew may find refuge on the other. Instructions have been sent to Lieutenant, now Commander, Pullen, at his winter quarters on the Mackenzie River, to explore the sea which spreads to the north from the continent. It is feared that these instructions were sent too late to meet him, and that this, the most interesting of all the expeditions, except the one through Smith's Sound, may not be attempted. Instructions have also been sent to Dr. Rae, of the Hudson Bay Company, to continue his examination of Wollaston Island this summer, in whatever direction he may think proper. Captain Austin of the navy is despatched with two sail vessels and two steamers, fully equipped for three years, to Cape Walker, Banks Land, Melville Island, and wherever may seem useful. He is provided with light sleds of gutta percha, to enable parties to travel expeditiously over the snow. The importance of these will be appreciated by any one who reads of the toilsome marches which former explorers have had to make on foot. Captain Penny, a veteran whaler, as familiar with Baffin's Bay as with the streets of his native Aberdeen, has command of two small vessels, most completely equipped, and manned with a volunteer crew of sailors bred in the Greenland seas. He is clothed with ample discretionary power. His intention, when he left England, was to attempt first to penetrate through Jones's Sound; failing there, to push through Wellington Channel. An effort was made to get up a subscription which would enable the old veteran, Sir John Ross, to take command of another expedition. We have not heard that the effort has succeeded.

Finally, two small vessels, fitted out by the munificent philanthropy of Mr. Moses Grinnell of New York, commanded by Lieutenant De Haven and passed midshipman Griffin of the U. S. Navy, have started to share in the glory and the perils of the search. The government has received these vessels, two brigantines, from Mr. Grinnell, has manned, victualled them, provided them with nautical instruments, and extended over them the discipline of the navy. This little expedition, numbering thirty-six, men and officers, will push for Wellington Channel first; failing there, for Cape Walker and Melville Island, failing there, for Jones's and Smith's Sounds. We confidently expect this scintillation of American energy will achieve something memorable, perhaps find Franklin, perhaps trace the configuration of the unknown coast far north of the Parry Islands, perhaps make some discovery that no one wots of. Many exploring expeditions hovered around the antarctic ice, but it was reserved for an American to find the land which lies behind it. More than one expedition has been sent to the Jordan and the Dead Sea; but only the American succeeded in making a survey of them. More than one great nation has talked of digging a canal or building a railroad across the isthmus of Panama; but only the American has begun the work. We are now to see what this same energy will accomplish on the peculiar ground of British discovery.

These expeditions cannot be abortive. If Franklin is alive, as they who ought to be most capable of judging say he is, he certainly will be found; if not, his loss will be ascertained. At any rate, important geographical discoveries will be made. What is known of Arctic geography now is only tantalizing. Every voyage which has removed old doubts has excited new ones. Undoubtedly the discoveries of the last seventy-five years have added much to our knowledge, but what remains unknown, is as puzzling as ever. Let navigators achieve as much as they may, they seem always stopped at the gateway of discovery. Whenever we cast our eyes over the boundary of the undiscovered region, the edge of land or water, or the openings of inlets present themselves, promising great disclosures to any who will examine them.

No one knows what Greenland is, though it has been col-

onized by Europeans nine hundred years. It is known, however, that large inlets penetrate far into the interior from the eastern and western shores; that a current sets into those on the east and out from those on the west; that the great current from the northeast brings down vast masses of ice to the eastern shore, and large masses of ice issue from those on the western shore. It is fair, then, to suppose that these inlets join with each other; that they are, in fact, straits joining the Atlantic with Baffin's Bay. Dr. Scoresby, who explored the eastern coast between the 69th and 75th parallels of latitude, thinks it is so; and Giesecke, who spent a considerable time in examining the natural history of Greenland, lays it down on his chart as a chain of islands.

Smith's Sound is marked on the maps as a break in the northern coast line of Baffin's Bay. Nothing is known of it but that there is an opening there. It has scarcely, if ever, been seen, since it was discovered by Baffin. The Arctic Highlanders, a tribe of Esquimaux living on the neighboring coast of Greenland, afford an argument for holding that this opening is the entrance to a strait leading to the northern ocean. When discovered by Sir John Ross in 1818, they had never dreamed of people living farther south; they imagined all the world lay farther north, and they went farther north to enjoy the winter. The Esquimaux, it is well known, depend almost entirely upon the seal fishery for their subsistence, so it is important to them to live near open water. Their migrations are determined by the opening and freezing of the sea. If they migrate to the north, it must be because the water there remains open longer. This habit of the Arctic Highlanders, therefore, shows that Smith's Sound leads to some tract of water more open than Baffin's Bay.

Following down the western coast of Baffin's Bay, the next point of interest is Jones's Sound. We have already said how little of this is known. Following the bleak coast still farther south, we come to Barrow's Strait, through which the Northwest Passage has been so confidently looked for. The great inlet leading to the south is now known to be a bay. The water extending directly west towards Melville Island is called by the British Admiralty, a "part of the Arctic Ocean." Enough was said in the last July number of this Journal to show, that it is practically a bay, enclosed

on the north by a chain of islands, on the west and south by permanently impenetrable ice. Nor should we be surprised to learn, that it is in fact a bay enclosed on all sides by land. Wellington Channel, and the other channels leading to the north, are confidently looked to as the portals of the North-west Passage. The doubtfulness investing all we know of them has already been shown. Nor is any thing at all known of the shape or extent of the land lying north, west, and south of this "part of the Arctic Ocean."

Skipping over some hundred miles to the south, indicated on the maps by a blank, we find the northern coast of the continent. The sea here is at least partially covered with ice all the year, and is compressed into a narrow strait between the continent and two tracts of land lying to the north, called Victoria Land and Wollaston Island. Sir John Richardson, observing that the flood tide comes from the north between these two tracts, inferred the existence of a channel there, leading to the ocean. Dr. Rae spent last summer in examining this channel; but, until his report shall be received, we must say nothing is known of these lands but the southern shore; nor of the channel, but its entrance.

West of Wollaston Island, no land has yet been found north of America. Between Wollaston Island and Cape Bathurst, the sea is partially covered with ice through the summer. But from Cape Bathurst three hundred miles west, the sea is entirely clear of ice half the summer; its surface dotted with flocks of ducks, multitudinous whales disport in its waters, and numberless seals flounder on the shore, a prey to the tribes of Esquimaux who congregate there in the warm months. There can be no question that this is part of the ocean; but where its eastern and western limits are, no one knows.

Farther west, the navigator meets ice in midsummer; he finds it thicker, and pressing closer upon the shore as he advances, until, near Point Barrow, its glassy surface seems to enjoy perennial repose. At Point Barrow it recedes, a light or recess being apparently worn into it by the current swept up the western coast of the continent by southwest winds. Beyond Point Barrow, the ice follows the shore, (generally leaving a navigable passage a few leagues wide, but closing upon the land in some winds,) to the latitude of

71° N. At about this latitude, the ice extends out to sea as far as any one has ever sailed, in a line varying at different seasons from south of west to northwest. Cooke, in the summers of 1778 and 1779; Captain Beechey, in the summers of 1826 and 1827; Kellet and Moore, in 1849, traced it as far long as they had time to examine, and saw it extending still farther. Kellet and Moore went to lat. 72. 51. N., long. 168 W.; from this point, not only was the ice seen trending to the southwest as far as could be seen from the mast head, but also a strong ice blink in the southwest showed that it extended beyond the horizon in that direction. *From a point at 71° 20' N., long. 175° 16' W., that is, 133 miles west, and 91 miles south of the former point,* Capt. Kellet found the ice again, noticed its line extending indefinitely to the north and to the southeast, and saw very high land about 35 miles north. Between these two extremes of vision there is an interval of a hundred miles, not yet visited. But from the stillness of the sea, the absence of currents, and the extreme purity of the water,† we have reason to infer that the icy barrier extends over this interval also. We know, as far as we can know what has not been seen, that land lies beyond this ice. Its permanence, the quietude of the seas, its shallowness, the absence of currents, the vast flocks of ducks that are seen migrating from the north in the fall, and the immense herds of deer that travel to the north over the ice near Point Barrow in the spring and return in the fall, prove so conclusively the existence of land beyond, that the discovery could scarcely add to one's confidence. As to its extent, we can only infer from the extent of the ice which rests upon it, that it covers many degrees of longitude.

Von Wrangell was told by a Siberian, that from Cape Jakan, on the northeast coast of Siberia, one might on a clear summer day descry snow-covered mountains at a great distance to the north; but that, in winter, it was impossible to see so far. He said that, formerly, herds of reindeer sometimes came across the ice of the sea, probably from thence; but that they had been frightened back by hunters and wolves; that he had himself seen a herd returning to the north in April,

* At lat. 71, a degree of long. is 19.53, at 72, it is 19.54 miles long.

† A white plate can be seen distinctly at the depth of 80 feet.

and that he had followed them in a sled drawn by two reindeer for a whole day, until the rugged surface of the ice forced him to desist. His opinion was, that these distant mountains were not an island, but an extensive land, like his own country. He had been told so by his father. Other natives spoke to Von Wrangell of this distant land, which could be seen in clear weather. Captain Kellet conjectures, plausibly enough, that the distant mountainous land which he descried is a continuation of this land.

The navigator, sailing through Behring Strait in search of Franklin, here finds the whole north closed against him. The passage around Point Barrow, in the northeast, is now admitted to be impracticable. Unless a passage can be found around the coast of Siberia, it is futile to send vessels to Behring's sea. The careful observations of Captain Beechey show, that a very slight current sets in through Behring Strait to the north, strikes against the American shore, follows it to Icy Cape, then strikes off westwardly through the sea. Von Wrangell says, that in summer there is a current from Behring's sea passing to the west between Cape Jakan and the distant land seen to the north. These two, in effect, make one current, the only one in Behring's sea. This passage is sometimes navigable; for a Russian once sailed through it, from the northern coast of Siberia to the Pacific. Little as is known of it, we are sure of this much: Captain Collinson must take this route, if he would find for his ships a wider field of discovery than Behring's sea.

Another conclusion is to be drawn from these facts; if the northern shore of the continent is ever to be circumnavigated, the course, most probably, will be across Behring's sea, around the coast of Asia, to the longitude at least of 180° W., then across the north pole to the coast of Spitzbergen. A passage may possibly be found through Wellington Channel, Jones's Sound, or Smith's Sound. But the navigation of such narrow channels is precarious; ice, baffling winds, and adverse currents are apt to retard a ship several seasons. Upon the other hand, a careful examination of the observations of explorers upon currents, climate, and ice, scattered over many books, goes strongly to show (we can scarcely help saying, shows,) that about the pole the sea is perpetually open, and the climate is much milder than at Melville Island or at Fort

Enterprise in latitude 64°. If a ship could pierce through the ice which clings to the coast of Siberia, we firmly believe it could cross the pole, and, favored by the powerful current which pours down from the polar region north of Spitzbergen, could return in triumph to the Atlantic.

- ART. IX.—1. *Report from the select Committee on Public Libraries ; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 23 July, 1849. London. Folio. pp. xx. and 317.
2. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum ; with Minutes of Evidence.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty. London : Printed by William Clowes, and Sons. 1850. Folio. pp. xlv. and 823.
3. *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Astor Library of the City of New York.* Made to the Legislature, January 29, 1850. Albany : Weed, Parsons, and Co., Public Printers. 1850. [Assembly Document, No. 43, pp. 30.]
4. *Reports, etc., of the Smithsonian Institution, exhibiting its Plans, Operations, and Financial Condition up to January 1, 1849.* From the third annual Report of the Board of Regents. Presented to Congress, February 19th, 1849. Washington : Thomas Ritchie, Printer. 1849. 8vo. pp. 72.

ALLUDING to our attainments in literature and science in comparison with those of other nations of our age, Mr. Justice Story, in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, a few years since, made the following remarks : — “ We have no reason to blush for what we have been or what we are. But we shall have much to blush for, if, when the highest attainments of the human intellect are within our reach, we surrender ourselves to an obstinate indifference or

shallow mediocrity ; if, in our literary career, we are content to rank behind the meanest principality of Europe. Let us not waste our time in seeking for apologies for our ignorance where it exists, or in framing excuses to conceal it. Let our short reply to all such suggestions be, like the answer of a noble youth on another occasion, that we know the fact, and are every day getting the better of it."

The orator then ventures to mention one of our greatest national deficiencies, and says,—"There is not, *perhaps*, a single library in America, sufficiently copious to have enabled Gibbon to have verified the authorities for his immortal History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."*

Notwithstanding his prefatory remarks, and the qualifying terms in which he stated this fact, it was received with surprise, and some doubt, by a large portion of his audience. Nearly all his hearers thought it a bold statement to be made so near to the vast bibliographical treasures of Harvard College. It was even hinted that the orator had probably been seeking in vain for some ancient black-letter law book from the press of Richard Pynson, and had drawn his general conclusions from his particular disappointment. But had the distinguished jurist been as learned in bibliothecal as in legal lore, had he and his audience been as thoroughly familiar with the actual condition and wants of our public libraries, as they were, in general, impressed with the importance of strenuous efforts on the part of men of literature and science, to raise our relative rank with other nations in these respects, he could have presented a much stronger case without danger of exciting surprise or doubt. It would not have been necessary to have cited so distinguished an author as Gibbon, nor so elaborate and learned a work as his matchless history. Our own neighborhood would furnish many instances, where research has been abandoned in despair on account of the meagreness of materials for pursuing the necessary investigations. We do not hesitate to say, that not one, nor all the libraries in this country combined, would furnish sufficient materials

* Fisher Ames had, many years before, made a similar statement; and we have it from a high source, that John Quincy Adams attempted to supply the deficiency, by importing at his own expense every work to which Gibbon refers in his History. In the collection of books left by Mr. Adams, and now at the family mansion in Quincy, there are probably more of these authorities than in any other library in the country.

for writing a complete history of that little book of three or four score diminutive pages, which has had such a mighty influence in moulding the character and creed of former generations, "The New England Primer." *

With respect to Gibbon, it might have been said with equal truth, that probably not all the libraries in Great Britain, and perhaps no single library in the world, was sufficiently copious to have supplied him with the authorities for his work. According to his own published statement, he was obliged to collect and purchase for his own use the extensive and valuable works which form the basis of his history. So, in our own country, such writers as Irving, Sparks, Prescott, and Bancroft have been obliged to visit Europe to collect materials for their histories, or at a great expense to import the works which ought to have been freely furnished to them from our public libraries. It was only by visiting Spain, and collecting, at his own cost, one of the best libraries of Spanish literature anywhere to be found, that Mr. Ticknor was enabled to avail himself of the materials necessary for writing his invaluable work. If either of the above-named distinguished authors had been less favored in their means, the world would not have enjoyed the results of their studies. Is it strange, then, that our country has not produced a larger number of eminent and thorough scholars? The pursuits of literature are, at present, too expensive for any but fortune's favorites to engage in them with success.

* This assertion must not be regarded by the reader as a random or reckless one, intended more for effect than for expressing an ascertained fact; for such is not the case. Not many months since, a series of articles on the History of the New England Primer appeared in the "Cambridge Chronicle." The writer gave some account of the authors of the various pieces in that little book, and of the persons named therein. In speaking of John Rogers, the story of whose martyrdom (with an affecting picture to match) occupies so prominent a place in the Primer, it was stated that he had exhibited, in the case of Joan Bocher, an equally persecuting spirit with that of his papistical executioners. The origin of this accusation was traced back to Fox, who was a contemporary of Rogers. The account in "The Cambridge Chronicle" was given from "Crosby's History of the Baptists." The writer of that work copies from Peirce, who, in his History of the Dissenters, says that he had it from the first Latin edition of "Fox's Book of Martyrs," and that it was suppressed in the following editions, out of regard to the memory of Rogers. Some of the numerous persons in this country bearing the name of Rogers, and claiming to be lineal descendants of him of Primer memory, were unwilling to receive at second-hand a statement which, if true, leaves a deep stain on the character of their ancestor. Diligent inquiry was made for the original work; but no copy of the first edition of Fox's Book of Martyrs could be found in any library in the country. Several cases of a similar kind occurred when investigating the history of the Primer; and other important matters connected with that little book and its authors were left in doubt, on account of the impossibility of obtaining the requisite works to verify or correct them.

It would be difficult to name a subject of equal importance that has heretofore received so little attention, or a want equally pressing, which has been so inadequately supplied, as that of large and well selected public libraries. We would not be understood as intimating that there has been a designed neglect or unwillingness to furnish the means for the highest intellectual culture, and for the most thorough literary and scientific investigations. On the contrary, we have the fullest faith that it is only necessary to have the deficiencies in these respects made known, in order that they may be soon supplied. Indeed, the paramount importance of large, well furnished libraries, easily accessible to students and others, has never been denied. The reason why we have to lament their present great deficiencies is the mistaken notion as to what may properly be said to constitute a satisfactory collection.

We suppose that the opinion pretty extensively prevails, that as far as this country and Europe are concerned, the present condition of these institutions may be regarded with unalloyed satisfaction. We often hear the libraries of Harvard, Yale, and Brown universities, with those in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, alluded to in terms which show very evidently, that, in the estimation of the public, there is no cause for complaint on account of their present condition. According to the common belief, these large collections contain nearly every work worth preserving in the various departments of literature and science. If a scholar desires thoroughly to investigate any subject, he has only to resort thither to find all that has ever been published by his predecessors in the same departments, and all that is necessary to aid him in his pursuits. Certainly, these large collections—from 30,000 to 60,000 volumes—must contain all that any scholar can ever need. But if, perchance, a case should arise in which a rare work is needed for reference, and is not to be found in the country, a visit to the British Museum, where there are nearly half a million of volumes, or to the national library at Paris, with twice that number, will supply all deficiencies.

A single fact, selected from a multitude of a similar character which have come to our knowledge, will be sufficient to show the error of such a conclusion. Within a few months, an English writer has published the following statement in the London *Athenæum*: — “In the progress of a late histori-

cal inquiry, I covered a sheet of paper with notes and questions, that could be solved only by reference to contemporary tracts and pamphlets. On visiting the Museum, it was found that *not five per cent.* of what I wanted were contained in ~~that~~ great national collection." Now, it must be acknowledged, that the Library of the British Museum contains one of the most complete collections of historical works to be found in any country ; and it is known to be particularly rich in books and pamphlets relative to the history of Great Britain. Yet the writer whom we have quoted finds cause to regret its great incompleteness in that department. We presume a similar, perhaps a greater, deficiency would be found in nearly every other department. Nor is this the fault of those to whom the duty of purchasing the books is intrusted. Considering the multiplicity and variety of objects that claim their attention, and the inadequate means afforded to them, it is wonderful that so much has been accomplished in supplying the wants of different classes of readers and scholars.

The popular error that only the *best* books and on the most important subjects are worth preserving, has done much to retard the establishment and growth of large libraries in this country. When a person, unaccustomed to the use or sight of many books, enters for the first time a large library, he is very likely to utter an exclamation of astonishment at the vastness — *the unnecessary extent* — of the collection, and to make the wondering inquiry whether anybody is expected to read all the volumes ; as if all books that are worth preserving are therefore to be read through ! It has been well said, that a National Library should contain all those works which are too costly, too voluminous, or of *too little value* in the common estimation, to be found elsewhere, down even to the smallest tracts. An old almanac or a forgotten pamphlet has sometimes enabled the historian to verify or correct some important point which would otherwise have remained in dispute.

The publication of the various documents whose titles are given above affords the best evidence, that at length the subject is likely to be treated in a manner more nearly commensurate with its importance. We therefore notice their appearance with great pleasure. Our purpose in presenting the subject to our readers at this time is not so much to offer remarks and suggestions of our own, as to lay before them some facts con-

cerning the libraries of Europe and America, derived principally from the two reports which stand first on our list.

Almost immediately on the publication of these reports, a sharp controversy, which is not likely soon to be closed, was commenced in England concerning some of the matters therein discussed. We have no desire to take part in that controversy; nor is it our intention to enter upon a critical review of the reports. Although prepared for the specific purpose indicated by the titles, they contain much valuable information of equal value to us in this country. Of this we gratefully avail ourselves. Probably there has never before been brought together so great a mass of original matter on the subject of libraries. Almost every particular connected with the establishment and proper management of such institutions was considered by the committees, and the results of their investigations are given at length in the reports and in the copious minutes of evidence that accompany them. Many of the statements which are here published, on the highest authority, were received, on their publication in England, with surprise and distrust. The reason of this is obvious. No thorough, systematic investigation, at all adequate to the importance of the subject, had ever before been made. The people of Great Britain were not prepared to be told that, in the matter of public libraries, they ranked lower than any other country in Europe. But we think it would create still greater surprise, in this country, if a correct comparative view of our condition were published by the side of that of the European states. It would be found that we present to the world the singular anomaly of a nation, second to none in respect to the general intelligence of the whole people and the means of a common education — a nation unequalled as readers and book-buyers, and yet, in the matter of libraries to which an author may resort thoroughly to investigate any subject on which he may be about to write, ranking far below most of the countries of Europe. We have no cause to lament, but on the contrary, occasion greatly to rejoice, at our comparative condition, on the whole, when placed beside that of the most favored of the countries to which we have alluded. The advantages for the almost universal diffusion of useful knowledge among us, we should, by no means, be willing to exchange for the means of affording to a privileged few the

opportunities of the highest culture, and the most thorough historical or literary research. But we are subjected to no such alternative. Our people are and will be readers. They are generally prepared to make a good use of books of a higher order than those offered to them in so cheap and attractive a form by our enterprising publishers. Now, either their energies will be wasted in a desultory, unprofitable course of reading, by which they will gain only a superficial knowledge of almost every conceivable subject, or they must be furnished with the means, which they are so well prepared to use to advantage, of going to the bottom of whatever subject interests them, and, having exhausted the wisdom of past generations, of adding to the stock of general knowledge from the results of their own thoughts and experience.

The select committee appointed in March, 1849, by the British House of Commons to report on the best means of "extending the establishment of Libraries freely open to the public, especially in large towns, in Great Britain and Ireland," consisted of fifteen members, namely: — Mr. Ewart, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. D'Israeli, Sir Harry Verney, Mr. Charteris, Mr. Bunbury, Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Milnes, The Lord Advocate, Sir John Walsh, Mr. Thicknesse, Mr. Mackinnon, Mr. Kershaw, and Mr. Wyld. The committee appear to have entered upon their labors with zeal, and to have performed their duty with thoroughness and fidelity. They held numerous sessions, and examined a large number of witnesses. The particulars of these examinations are printed in full. The report of the committee occupies only twelve pages, whilst the minutes of evidence, tables, &c., fill over three hundred. The committee appear to have felt, that it was only necessary to lay before Parliament and the public the facts concerning the present condition and wants of the public libraries, in order to ensure the supply of all deficiencies.

After presenting a brief view of the libraries in the various countries of Europe, with a more particular account of the present condition of those in Great Britain, showing that the English are far behind their continental neighbors in this respect, the Committee say: —

"Whatever may be our disappointment at the rarity of Public Libraries in the United Kingdom, we feel satisfaction in stating,

that the uniform current of the evidence tends to prove the increased qualifications of the people to appreciate and enjoy such institutions. Testimony showing a great improvement in national habits and manners is abundantly given in the evidence taken by the Committee. That they would be further improved by the establishment of Public Libraries, it needs not even the high authority and ample evidence of the witnesses who appeared before the Committee to demonstrate." — p. vii.

Frequent and favorable allusions are made in the report and the minutes of evidence to the numerous popular libraries in this country for district schools, factories, &c. These, we are aware, are of the greatest value. But these alone are not sufficient. The establishment of even a hundred thousand small, village, or district-school, libraries, would not supersede the necessity of a certain number of large and comprehensive ones. These little collections are much alike, each containing nearly the same books as every other. The Committee of Parliament appear to understand this.

"It is evident that there should be, in all countries, libraries of two sorts : libraries of deposit and research ; and libraries devoted to the general reading and circulation of books. Libraries of deposit should contain, if possible, almost every book that ever has existed. This point is justly dwelt upon by many witnesses, and especially by that learned person and experienced bibliophile, M. Libri. The most insignificant tract, the most trifling essay, a sermon, a newspaper, or a song, may afford an illustration of manners or opinions elucidatory of the past, and throw a faithful, though feeble light, on the pathway of the future historian. In such libraries nothing should be rejected. Not but that libraries of deposit and of general reading may (as in the case of the British Museum) be combined. But though such combination is possible, and may be desirable, the distinction which we have drawn should never be forgotten." — p. ix.

The value of printed catalogues was fully considered by the committee, and they have expressed a decided opinion respecting their importance. As we shall have occasion to recur to this subject when we come to consider the report of the commissioners on the Museum, we defer our remarks till that time, and pass at once to a notice of some of the principal witnesses on whose testimony the conclusions of the committee are founded.

The first, and apparently, in the estimation of the commit-

tee, the most important witness, was Edward Edwards, Esq., an assistant in the department of printed books in the British Museum. The minutes of his evidence alone cover between sixty and seventy of the closely printed folio pages accompanying the report. Besides this, he has furnished various statistical tables, occupying fifty pages, and a series of twelve maps. In one of the maps it is his purpose to exhibit, by various shades, the relative provision of books in public libraries in the principal states of Europe, as compared with their respective populations; and in the others, the local situation of the public libraries in some of the principal cities. The evidence of Mr. Edwards has been severely commented upon in the London newspapers and elsewhere, and some inaccuracies in his tables, of greater or less magnitude, have been pointed out. We might, perhaps, by a particular examination of every word and figure, add something to the list of errata. But we think that those persons who are most familiar with the difficulty of obtaining exact statistical information will not wonder that an error should here and there be found. We have looked over the evidence and the tables with considerable care, and think them, on the whole, highly creditable to the author. It is evident, however, from the general tenor of his testimony, that Mr. Edwards presses rather too strongly the point respecting the condition of England compared with that of the countries on the continent, as to the number and accessibility of their public libraries. His enthusiasm on the subject, arising probably from a laudable desire to have his own country take a higher rank in respect to libraries than she now holds, has led him, we think, to overlook or undervalue some of the advantages which she already possesses. But his facts and figures are, in the main, to be relied upon; and we shall make use of them as sufficiently accurate to give our readers a general view of the present bibliothecal condition of the principal countries of Europe. In justice to Mr. Edwards, we copy what he says of the difficulty of obtaining such statistical information, and of the value to be attached to it.

Ques. "Have you turned your attention to a comparison of the number and extent of the libraries accessible to the public in the principal states of Europe?"

Ans. "I have turned my attention to that subject, and have

formed several lists of such libraries, as far as I have been able to acquire information respecting them."

Ques. "In what respects do you think a statistical comparison of this kind is of value?"

Ans. "Of course, in order to an accurate comparison of the value of different libraries, you ought to know something of the character of the books contained in them respectively; but I think that even a mere comparison of the numbers has some relative value, especially if taken in connection with their growth, so that you can compare what a library was, in point of extent, at one period, with what it has become at a later period."

Ques. "Have you found it easy to acquire accurate data for such a comparison?"

Ans. "It is a matter of very considerable difficulty indeed; there are few subjects upon which looser and vaguer statements are to be found, even in statistical works of great repute, than upon that matter. In fact, the difficulty is still greater with respect to English libraries than with respect to foreign; very little attention has been bestowed upon the statistics of libraries, either home or foreign, in this country. I think there are but two ways in which any thing like accurate information can be obtained; namely, either by practical familiarity with the libraries themselves, which it has not been in my power to attain to any great degree, or by correspondence, which latter I have carried on to a considerable extent. It is upon that I base most of the results at which I have arrived."

Ques. "What is the result of your comparison between the libraries of the continent and those which exist in this country?"

Ans. "That nearly every European state is in a far higher position, both as to the number and extent of libraries accessible to the public, and, generally, as respects the accessibility of such libraries as do exist. There are some exceptions, but speaking generally, in both these respects, almost every European state is in a far higher position than this country."

On Mr. Edwards's map of Europe, we find the smaller German states to be represented with the lightest lines, indicating the highest rank, and Great Britain with the darkest or lowest. He states the provision of books in libraries publicly accessible, as compared with the population, to be as follows:—In Saxony, for every 100 inhabitants, there are 417 books; in Denmark, 412; in Bavaria, 339; in Tuscany, 261; in Prussia, 200; in Austria, 167; in France, 129; in Belgium, 95; whilst in Great Britain, there are only 53 to every 100 inhabitants.

In the following tables, the libraries containing less than 10,000 volumes each (of which there are, in France alone, at least seventy or eighty,) are not taken into the account.

France has 107 Public	Saxony has 6 cont'g	554,000 vols.
Libraries containing 4,000,000 vols.	Bavaria " 17 do.	1,267,000 "
Belgium has 14 do. 538,000 "	Denmark " 5 do.	645,000 "
Prussia " 44 do. 2,400,000 "	Tuscany " 9 do.	411,000 "
Austria " 48 do. 2,400,000 "	G. Britain " 33 do.	1,771,493 "

Taking the capital cities we find the following results:—

Paris has 9 Public	Dresden has 4 cont'g	340,500 "
Libraries containing 1,474,000 vols.	Munich " 2 do.	800,000 "
Brussels has 2 do. 143,500 "	Copenhagen " 3 do.	557,000 "
Berlin " 2 do. 530,000 "	Florence " 6 do.	318,000 "
Vienna " 3 do. 453,000 "	London " 4 do.	490,500 "
Milan " 2 do. 230,000 "		

Arranging these libraries according to their extent, they would stand as follows:—

	Vols.		Vols.
Paris (1) National Library,	824,000	Milan, Brera Library,	170,000
Munich, Royal Library,	600,000	Paris (3), St. Genevieve,	150,000
Petersburg Imperial Library,	446,000	Darmstadt, Grand Ducal,	150,000
London, British Museum,	435,000	Florence, Magliabecchian,	150,000
Copenhagen, Royal Library,	412,000	Naples, Royal Library,	150,000
Berlin, Royal Library,	410,000	Brussels, Royal Library,	133,500
Vienna, Imperial Library,	313,000	Rome (1), Casanate Library,	120,000
Dresden, Royal Library,	300,000	Hague, Royal Library,	100,000
Madrid, National Library,	200,000	Paris (4), Mazarine Library,	100,000
Wolfenbittel, Ducal Library,	200,000	Rome (2), Vatican Library,	100,000
Stuttgart, Royal Library,	187,000	Parma, Ducal Library,	100,000
Paris (2), Arsenal Library,	180,000		

The chief University Libraries may be ranked in the following order:—

	Vols.		Vols.
Gottingen, University Lib.,	360,000	Vienna, University Library,	115,000
Breslau, University Library,	250,000	Leipsic, University Library,	112,000
Oxford, Bodleian Library,	220,000	Copenhagen, University Lib.,	110,000
Tubingen, University Lib.,	200,000	Turin, University Library,	110,000
Munich, University Library,	200,000	Louvaine University Library,	105,000
Heidelberg, University Lib.,	200,000	Dublin, Trinity College Lib.,	104,239
Cambridge, Public Library,	166,724	Upsal, University Library,	100,000
Bologna, University Library,	150,000	Erlangen, University Library,	100,000
Prague, University Library,	130,000	Edinburgh, University Lib.,	90,354

The largest Libraries in Great Britain are those of the

	Vols.		Vols.
1 British Museum, London,	435,000	4 Advocates, Edinburgh,	148,000
2 Bodleian, Oxford,	220,000	5 Trinity College, Dublin,	104,239
3 University, Cambridge,	166,724		

Several pages are devoted by Mr. Edwards to a statistical

view of the public libraries in the United States. But as the estimated number of volumes in each does not appear in all cases to apply to the same year, and as many of these collections have recently been considerably enlarged, and their relative size changed, we cannot make use of the tables which he furnishes, to show the actual extent of our libraries at the present time. But as it may be a matter of interest to our readers to know how we stand reported to the British Parliament, we present below Mr. Edwards's "Summary." In this account, he includes only those libraries which contain 5000 volumes and upwards, to which the public, more or less restrictedly, have access. It embraces State libraries and those of Colleges and Mercantile Societies; but does not include the numerous small school and parish libraries.

	Vols.		Brought up,	Vols.
1 Alabama, has 1 Pub. Lib.	6,000		34,	454,366
2 Columbia, Dist. of, has 2,	53,000	12 New Jersey,	has 3,	28,500
3 Connecticut, " 6,	81,449	13 New York,	" 12,	157,411
4 Georgia, " 1,	13,000	14 North Carolina,	" 1,	10,000
5 Kentucky, " 1,	7,000	15 Ohio,	" 4,	30,497
6 Louisiana, " 1,	5,500	16 Pennsylvania,	" 14,	159,200
7 Maine, " 3,	38,860	17 Rhode Island,	" 3,	37,185
8 Maryland, " 1,	12,000	18 South Carolina,	" 2,	30,000
9 Massachusetts, " 14,	200,757	19 Tennessee,	" 2,	16,000
10 Missouri, " 2,	14,300	20 Vermont,	" 2,	16,254
11 New Hampshire, " 2,	22,500	21 Virginia,	" 4,	41,000
	<u>34,</u>		<u>81</u>	<u>980,413</u>
	454,366	Total . . .		

In accordance with the spirit of Mr. Justice Story's advice, which we quoted at the commencement of our article, it may not be amiss for us to compare this aggregate number of volumes, which is given as the sum total of books in our public libraries, with that of some other country, state, or city. We select the capital city of France.

Estimated number in the Public Libraries of Paris is	1,474,000
" " " " in the U. S.	980,514
Excess in favor of Paris,	493,486

This remarkable fact, that, in the matter of large libraries, the single city of Paris is much better supplied than the whole United States, may well create surprise, but should not cause discouragement. If we are compelled to confess, in the words of the orator alluded to above, "that we know the fact," we can with equal truth add what he then hoped might be so, "we are every day getting the better of it." We shall

have something more to say presently about the real condition of the libraries in this country.

Mr. Edwards's "summary" is probably as nearly correct as it could be made from any statistics which had then been published in this country. It is a fact not very creditable to us, that the most accurate account of American libraries that has ever appeared was published several years ago in Germany, and has never been translated into English. We are much pleased to learn, however, that the officers of the Smithsonian Institution have taken measures for ascertaining fully and exactly the number and size of the public libraries in the United States; so that we shall be likely soon to have accurate statistical accounts of the highest value, prepared by the accomplished librarian of that national institution, and published under the sanction of its government. In the report for 1849, Professor Jewett states the number of public libraries in the United States, as far as then ascertained, to be 182; and the whole number of volumes 1,294,000. This would still leave this country behind the single city of Paris. When the complete returns above alluded to are received and published, the United States will present a much better appearance than heretofore, though even then obliged to acknowledge great deficiencies, and to take a lower rank with respect to libraries than almost any country in Europe. We have already stated, that the relative rank of the libraries in this country has been changed within a few years. We give below the present number of volumes in a few of the largest.

	Vols.		Vols.
1 Harvard College, including the Law and Divinity Schools,	72,000	6 Mercantile Lib., New York,	32,000
2 Philadelphia & Loganian Lib.	60,000	7 Georgetown College, D. C.,	25,000
3 Boston Athenæum,	50,000	8 Brown University,	24,000
4 Library of Congress,	50,000	9 New York State Library,	24,000
5 New York Society Library,	32,000	10 Yale College,	21,000

We are sorry to find that the library of Harvard College, which is the oldest, and, for a long time, was much the largest and best, in the country, is fast losing its relative rank. Had the powerful appeal of President Quincy to the Legislature in 1833 produced its proper effect, and had the State of Massachusetts granted from her treasury the sum necessary to erect a suitable library building, the College would have been enabled to expend annually for the increase of the library the interest of the cost of that building, and we should not be

obliged to deplore the many deficiencies of the library. It was well said by Mr. Quincy at that time, — “The interest of the public in the preservation of this library is far greater than the interest of the seminary; so much greater, that, in one point of view, it may truly be said, that the commonwealth is exclusively interested in its preservation; for so far as the interests of the seminary are regarded as identical with its wants as an institution for the instruction of youth, they are within the power of any insurance. But the interests of the public are absolutely beyond the power of any insurance, and if lost are irreparable.”* Unfortunately it sometimes happens, that State Legislatures are so constituted that the logic and eloquence of such a man as the distinguished President are less effective than the fulsome and extravagant addresses of Monsieur Vattemare.

But the aid which ought to have been promptly granted by the State to the College that she delights to claim as her own child, and over which she exercises jurisdiction, was derived from the munificent bequest of a private individual. Gore Hall is the monument of the liberality of a single benefactor. We wish we could say that the contents of the library were in better keeping with the costly edifice in which they are deposited. We are not unmindful of the great real and comparative value of the books that are now to be found in the collection. By the munificence of Israel Thorndike and Samuel A. Eliot, two entire and very valuable collections of books on American History were bought and presented to the College. These, together with books purchased with the bequest of \$3,000 by the late Judge Prescott, make the library more nearly complete in this than in any other department. On the completion of Gore Hall, a liberal amount was subscribed, by which other departments of the library were greatly enriched. Yet its meagreness in almost every department, if made known, would be likely to create astonishment. We venture to point to a single instance as an illustration of what we have just said; and we do this not to decry the college library, which is, on the whole, the best in the country, but to show that the common idea, that the library is already full, is far from correct. The department of bibli-

* *Considerations relating to the Library of Harvard University, &c.* — p. 4.

ography is of the highest importance to every well conducted library. Bibliographical books are to the librarian and the literary man what the compass is to the mariner, or the tools of his trade to the artisan. A complete bibliographical library would not of itself contain less than 20,000 volumes. We have recently seen two accounts of the number of volumes that would be immediately important at the commencement of a large library. The first was prepared for the Smithsonian Institution, and consists of 3000 volumes; and the other is "A concise classified list of the most important works on Bibliography, being those selected in this department for the Astor Library," and embracing about 2000 volumes. A few weeks since, we had the curiosity to ascertain from actual count, how many of the works named in this "concise list" were in the college library, and found that not one third of those named therein were now, or ever had been, there. Other departments are equally deficient. We should be sorry to see the managers of our public libraries under the influence of bibliomania. We do not, however, consider that their tendency lies in that direction. There is not, to our knowledge, in any public library in New England, even a specimen of the printing of Guttenberg, the inventor of the art, nor of Caxton who first printed in England. The only specimen of printing from the early New England press, which is contained in the college library, is an imperfect copy of the Bay Psalm Book. Let us look for one moment at the other end of the list of works which one would naturally expect to find in a library like this. Considering the close connection which such men as Buckminster, Channing, and Henry Ware, held with the institution, we should expect to find at least one copy of the published life and works of each of these eminent divines. But they are not there. We will not multiply instances of deficiencies. The Harvard College Library is, notwithstanding what we have said, better provided with useful books than any other library in the country. It has been confidently asserted, and we believe with strict truth, that not one of the original thirteen States in the Union possesses a complete and perfect set of its own printed documents.

The second witness examined by the committee was M. Guizot. In the distinguished positions which he has filled as Minister of Public Instruction, and Prime Minister in France,

his attention has been turned to the public libraries of that country. Whilst in office, he ordered an inspection of those institutions; and the French Government now has complete and exact documents relative to the number of public libraries and the number of books in each library. These libraries are accessible to the public, in every way, for reading, and, to a great extent, for borrowing books. Some of them receive direct grants from the government towards their support. Others, in the provincial towns, are supported by municipal funds; to these, the government distributes copies of costly works, for the publication of which it subscribes liberally.

The subject of international exchanges of books, as proposed and urged with so much zeal by M. Vattemare, was considered by the committee of Parliament. M. Guizot, from his intimate knowledge of the origin and success of this much vaunted system, was eminently qualified to perceive the great advantages, if any, which have arisen, or would be likely to arise, from its general adoption by various countries. His calm and cool replies contrast strongly with the tone of extravagance with which the matter has generally been treated, especially in this country.

Ques. Can you favor the committee with any suggestions as to the means of facilitating interchanges of books between the public libraries of different countries?

Ans. I had some conversations on that matter with M. Alexandre Vattemare, who travelled in the United States. He was the great undertaker of the interchanges between the different libraries; nothing very practical or of great extent occurred; I tried several different ways, but I never came to any important and general results.

Ques. Not even with the United States?

Ans. No.

When we call to mind the fact that this witness was greatly interested in the growth and prosperity of libraries, that he had given much attention to their condition and wants, that the system of which he speaks originated almost immediately under his own eye, and that the views and projects of the originator were well known to him, we must attach the highest value to his testimony.

There is much that, at first, is quite attractive and plausible in the system, as presented by its founder and zealous

agent. The good feeling which it promises to promote between nations and individuals, is a pleasant feature in the plan, and has won for it many advocates. The earnest and continued importunity, with which the matter has been pressed upon the attention of Congress and of the State Legislatures has secured sufficient attention to obtain approbatory resolves and liberal grants of money and books to forward the object.

The estimated amount which M. Vattemare names, as necessary for the support of his agency, is \$10,250 per year. He has already secured toward this object the following grants; namely, from the U. S. Congress, \$2,000; and from the State of Maine, \$300; New Hampshire, \$200; Vermont, \$200; Massachusetts, \$300; Rhode Island, \$200; Connecticut, \$200; New York, \$400; New Jersey, \$300; Delaware, \$100; Virginia, \$400; North Carolina, \$200; South Carolina, \$300; Indiana, \$400; which gives him already the annual sum of \$5,500. M. Vattemare very naturally feels encouraged by this success, and indulges the confident expectation, that "every State in the Union will cheerfully contribute toward the support of the central agency at Paris." A still more gratifying circumstance connected with his labors is thus mentioned: "It is, that from the hour I, for the second time, set my foot upon your shores, to this hour, though I have in that time traversed so large a portion of your country, and visited so many of your cities and great towns, I have not yet been permitted to expend the first dollar, either for my personal support or my travelling expenses."* He, with much reason, speaks in high terms of the hospitality and generosity with which he has been received in this country. We believe a similar cordiality of reception has not awaited him elsewhere. We do not learn that any other government, not even that of his own native country, has made any grant toward the support of his agency.

Appeals were made to our national pride and patriotism, as well as to our purse. A single specimen will give a fair idea of the usual style of his appeals. Mons. Vattemare, in his letter to his Excellency, Governor Briggs, says,† "It is a lamentable fact that the United States does (?) not now

* Address delivered before the Legislature of New Hampshire, June 28th, 1849, page 33.

† Massachusetts Senate Documents No. 26, February, 1845, page 4.

occupy that rank in European estimation to which *her* (?) social and national position entitle her." After intimating that the adoption of his system of exchanges is all that is necessary to raise us in European estimation, he breaks out in the following strain of overpowering eloquence: — "The veil of ignorance which shuts out your country from view will fall; and she will stand in the eyes of Europe in her true dignity and glory, illuminated by the blaze of intellectual light ever radiated from the constellation of stars that deck her standard! She will be known. She needs but to be known to be appreciated, admired, and respected."• But our reputation as a sharp, calculating people is not forgotten; and he ends by setting forth the good bargains we may make by exchanges with our European friends: —

"But your State will reap a rich reward for thus elevating the national character. The treasures which have for centuries been accumulating in the vast storehouses of European knowledge, the works of her artists, inspired by the masterpieces of the world, the laws, founded on the experience of ages, which direct her vast governments, and protect her immense population, — will be sent you with a profuse hand, in exchange for what will cost you a mere trifle. Value, intrinsic value, will not for a moment be taken into consideration. *The Bulletin des Lois*, 240 volumes, has already been sent for a copy of the Revised Statutes of one of your sister States; and you may expect a similar prolific return; — a rattlesnake or a lizard may procure a copy of the *Venus de Medicis*, a State map the Geological map of France, published at a cost of five hundred francs per copy, and not to be purchased. In short, while the first-mentioned object will be gloriously effected, you will be real gainers by the exchange, and fill your State Library, or the collection of your University, with what it would cost immense sums to purchase."

Such appeals were irresistible. Appropriations of money and books were soon made, and have been continued annually. We will not say that the works received in exchange are not all that could be reasonably expected or desired; nor that the amount appropriated, if wisely expended by a committee of our own legislature, would have procured more books, and those better adapted to the wants of the persons who make use of the State Library. We cannot say, whether or not our rank as a nation or state has been raised as was predicted. Nor have we heard whether the rattlesnake was ever sent,

and the Venus de Medicis received in exchange. But one thing we must confess; namely, that our faith in the feasibility of the system, never very firm, has not been strengthened by carefully considering the subject in its various bearings.

It is not our object to throw doubt on the sincerity and disinterestedness of the zealous originator and promoter of the system. The recent manifestations of distrust in certain quarters concerning his fidelity have not been justified by any specific proof. Monsieur Vattermare appears to be filled with the idea, that his system of exchanges will be of immense benefit to the nations which embrace it, and by his personal exertions he has already accomplished much. No one can look over the printed list of donations to the New York State Library, procured through his agency, without feeling that *that* State, at least, has good cause to speak well of his scheme and its results. But our conviction is strong, that the system does not possess the elements of permanent or long continued vitality. The novelty of the thing, and the lofty promises which it makes as a promoter of good feeling between nations, and of their mutual benefit in other respects, when presented by the ardent advocate of the system, are likely to make for it friends, and may produce *immediate* good results. But this zealous interest is not easily to be transferred to another agent, when M. Vattermare's labors from any cause shall cease.

When we notice the readiness of our national and state legislatures to listen to the representations of this foreign irresponsible agent, and to grant him privileges and appropriations with unwonted liberality, our fears are great, that the attention of those whose duty it is to see that the deficiencies of our public libraries are carefully attended to, will be diverted from practicable and permanent methods of supplying their real wants by this attractive though somewhat visionary project.

His Excellency M. Van de Weyer, Minister from Belgium, was next examined. He testified that the public libraries in his country were numerous, large, and easily accessible to all who desire to make use of them. He attributes the best results to the literary character of his country from this privilege of free access to their large collections of books. He thinks the people are better prepared than is generally supposed to appreciate works of a high character. He seems to think it

unwise to attempt to popularize science and literature by printing inferior books, written expressly for common and uneducated people. The government subscribe for a number of copies of nearly every valuable work that is published, by which means they encourage the progress of literature, and are enabled to enrich many of the libraries.

“The government have sometimes, within a space of twenty years, spent some £10,000 or £12,000 in favor of libraries. I take this opportunity of stating also, that though the Chamber only votes a grant of 65,000 or 70,000 francs for the Royal Public Library of Brussels, whenever there is some large sale going on, there is always a special grant made to the library. Lately one of the most curious private libraries had been advertised for sale; a catalogue had been printed in six volumes; the government immediately came forward, bought the whole of the library for £13,000 or £14,000, and made it an addition to the Royal Library in Brussels; they did the same thing at Ghent; I believe the library that they bought at Ghent consisted of about 20,000 volumes, and in Brussels about 60,000 or 70,000 volumes.” — p. 52.

Passing by several witnesses, whose evidence we should be glad to notice did our limits allow us to do so, we come to George Dawson, Esq., who, as a lecturer, has had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the condition, the feelings, and the wants of the working classes in the manufacturing towns, both in England and Scotland. He testifies, that libraries to some extent have already been formed in those places, and that there is a very general desire among the working people to avail themselves of more and better books. They can appreciate the best authors. Political and historical subjects interest them most, but the higher class of poetry is also read by them. Milton is much read. Mr. Dawson says, “Shakspeare is known by heart almost; I could produce men who could be cross examined upon any play.”

The contrast between the manufacturing and the farming districts, in respect to the intelligence of the people and their desire for improvement, is very great. Speaking of one of the agricultural districts, Mr. Dawson says, “I have heard of a parish in Norfolk, where a woman was the parish clerk, because there was not a man in the parish who could read or write.”

The Rev. William Robert Freemantle, the next witness, has turned his attention to the institution of libraries for the

instruction of the rural population. He says that people are very little acquainted with the extraordinary ignorance of the poor in rural districts. Many books selected for them lie on their tables unread. "Shakspeare would be lost upon them." Alluding to the opposition manifested by the farmers to the spread of education and knowledge among the laborers in these districts, he says, —

"I should be sorry to say any thing unfavorable to farmers; I have a great respect for them, but I am afraid if they do not read themselves, they do not like to see the laboring class becoming really and truly wiser than themselves; if the farmers do not move forward, the laboring classes will be the wiser of the two. I have many young men in my parish better instructed than the farmers, and who could give a better answer to a question than many of the farmers themselves." — p. 91.

Henry Stevens, Esq., formerly librarian of one of the libraries connected with Yale College, and familiar with the condition of the principal libraries in this country, was called upon to give an account of the present state of these institutions in the United States. There are but few of our countrymen who would have been able to give so full and correct answers to the questions proposed by the committee as Mr. Stevens. The subject is one to which he has devoted much time and attention, and it was fortunate for the committee that he was in London at the time when they were pursuing their investigations. As Mr. Stevens's evidence has been extensively republished in various ways in this country, and is familiar to many of our readers, it is not necessary to copy any portion of it here. We cannot, however, forbear to avail ourselves of this occasion to allude to the important work on which Mr. Stevens is now engaged, and to accomplish which, in the most thorough manner, he has taken up a temporary residence in London, that he may make use of the rich bibliographical treasures in the British Museum. "*The Bibliographia Americana*" will contain a bibliographical account of the sources of American History, comprising a description of books relating to America prior to the year 1700, and of all books printed in America from 1543 to 1700, together with notices of many of the more important unpublished manuscripts. When the work is ready for the press, it will be published by the Smithsonian Institution in two quarto vol-

umes. Its importance to the future historian will be inestimable.

The committee very justly place much value on the opinions and suggestions of M. Libri. The thorough knowledge which this eminent bibliographer possesses of all matters pertaining to the condition and wants of public libraries, as well as of the needs of literary men, renders his remarks worthy of careful consideration.

“As I have already stated in my evidence, in my opinion, and as all educated men agree, it is necessary that in a great country there should be at least one library, in which one may expect to find, as far as it is possible, all books which learned men, men who occupy themselves upon any subject whatever, and who cultivate one of the branches of human knowledge, may require to consult. Of these, there is nothing useless, nothing ought to be neglected; the most insignificant in appearance, those which on their publication have attracted the least attention, sometimes become the source of valuable and unexpected information. It is in the fragments, now so rare and precious, of some alphabets, of some small grammars published for the use of schools about the middle of the 15th century, or in the letters distributed in Germany by the religious bodies commissioned to collect alms, that bibliographers now seek to discover the first processes employed by the inventors of xylography and typography. It is in a forgotten collection of indifferent plates, published at Venice by Fausto Verantio, towards the end of the 16th century, that an engineer who interests himself in the history of the mechanical arts, might find the first diagram of iron suspension bridges.”

“Nothing should be neglected; nothing is useless to whoever wishes thoroughly to study a subject. An astronomer, who desires to study the motions peculiar to certain stars, requires to consult all the old books of astronomy, and even of astrology, which appear the most replete with error. A chemist, a man who is engaged in the industrial arts, may still consult with profit certain works on alchemy, and even on magic. A legislator, a juriconsult, needs sometimes to be acquainted with the laws, the ordinances, which derive their origin from the most barbarous ages. But it is particularly for the biographer, for the historian, that it is necessary to prepare the largest field of inquiry, to amass the greatest quantity of materials. This is not only true as regards past times, but we ought to prepare the materials for future students. Historical facts which appear the least important, the most insignificant anecdotes, registered in a pamphlet, mentioned in a placard or in a song, may be connected at a later period, in

an unforeseen manner, with events which acquire great importance, or with men who are distinguished in history by their genius, by their sudden elevation, or even by their crimes. We are not born celebrated. Men become so; and when we desire to trace the history of those who have attained it, the inquirer is often obliged to pursue his researches in their most humble beginnings. Who would have imagined that the obscure author of a small pamphlet, "*Le Souper de Beaucaire*," would subsequently become the Emperor Napoleon, and that to write fully the life of the execrable Marat, one ought to have the very insignificant essays on physics that he published before the Revolution? Nothing is too unimportant for whoever wishes thoroughly to study the literary or scientific history of a country, or for one who undertakes to trace the intellectual progress of eminent minds, or to inform himself in detail of the changes which have taken place in the institutions and in the manners of a nation. Without speaking of the commentaries or considerable additions which have been introduced in the various reprints of an author, the successive editions of the same work which appear to resemble each other the most are often distinguished from each other by peculiarities worthy of much attention." — p. 119.

With a brief extract from the evidence of one other witness, we must close our notice of the Report on Public Libraries. Charles Meyer, Esq., German Secretary to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, had given attention to the public libraries of Germany, having resided several years in Gotha, in Hamburg, in Leipsic, and in Munich. He had perused the principal part of the evidence which had been given by Mr. Edwards upon this subject, and found all that he stated to be quite correct. Dr. Meyer thinks the existence of the numerous and valuable libraries of Germany has given the literary men of that country an advantage over the literary men of England.

"It has saved a great number of our German learned men from the danger of becoming *autodidactoi*, self-taught. I think that is one essential point of difference that is visible in comparing the general character of the instruction in this country with that on the continent; there are in this country a great number of self-taught people, who think according to their own views, without any reference to previous scientific works. They make, sometimes, very great discoveries, but sometimes they find that they have wasted their labor upon subjects already known, which have been written upon by a great number of people before them; but

as they have no access to libraries, it is impossible for them to get acquainted with the literature of that branch upon which they treat." — p. 139.

We come now to the Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate the affairs of the British Museum. There is probably no other public institution in Great Britain which is regarded with so great and general interest as this. By the variety of its departments, this great national depository of literature and objects of natural history and antiquity meets, in some way, the particular taste of almost every class of citizens. The department of Natural History, in its three divisions of Zoölogy, Botany, and Mineralogy, contains a collection of objects unsurpassed, probably unequalled, in the world. The department of antiquities is, in some particulars, unrivalled for the number and value of the articles it contains. But the library is the crowning glory of the whole. If, in respect to the number of volumes it contains, it does not equal the National Library at Paris, the Royal Library at Munich, or the Imperial Library at Petersburg, — in almost every other respect, such as the value and usefulness of the books, the arrangements for their convenient and safe keeping, the facilities afforded by the officers to persons wishing to consult the books, and, in fact, in every matter pertaining to its internal arrangements, — the library of the British Museum, by the concurrent testimony of competent witnesses from various countries, must take rank above all similar institutions in the world. Well may the people of that nation regard the Museum with pride and pleasure. The liberal grants of Parliament and the munificent bequests of individuals are sure indications of a strong desire and purpose to continue and extend its advantages.

Some idea of the magnitude of the Museum, and of its vast resources, may be formed by considering that the buildings alone, in which this great collection is deposited, have cost, since the year 1823, nearly £700,000; and the whole expenditure for purchases, exclusive of the cost of the buildings named above, is considerably more than £1,100,000. Besides this liberal outlay by the British government, there have been numerous magnificent bequests from individuals. The acquisitions from private munificence were estimated, for the twelve years preceding the year 1835, at not less than £400,000.

The latest considerable bequest was that of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville; his library, which he gave to the Museum entire, was valued at over £50,000. The annual receipts of the institution, of late years, from parliamentary grants and the interest of private bequests, have been about £50,000. The number of visitors to the Museum is immense. In the year 1848, they amounted to 897,985, being an average of about three thousand visitors per day for every day when the Museum is open. On special occasions, there have been as many as thirty thousand visitors on a single day.

But great as are the advantages which the Museum has freely offered to all who have had occasion to resort to it, and faithfully as its managers have striven to meet every want of the various classes who are interested in any of the different departments, the Museum and its managers have not escaped severe censure. Those of our readers who are in the habit of looking over the English newspapers and magazines must have been for some time aware of this fact. The complaints have principally been of a vague and general character; though occasionally they have assumed a definite form. These increasing, though, as it has proved, generally unfounded, complaints at length demanded and received the attention of Parliament.

In June, 1847, commissioners were appointed to inquire into, and report upon, the constitution and government of the British Museum. In May, 1848, their number was increased. They were invested with full powers to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths to the witnesses. The Earl of Ellesmere was chairman; and among his associates we find the names of Lord Seymour, the Bishop of Norwich, Joseph Hume, Richard Monckton Milnes, and Samuel Rogers. The character of the commissioners was such as to inspire very general confidence in the fidelity with which they would exercise their functions, and the wisdom with which they would come to their conclusions. Their report, with the minutes of evidence, makes a gigantic document of nearly nine hundred closely printed folio pages. We must express our disappointment and sorrow, that so much of the report and evidence relate to difficulties and misunderstandings between the trustees and the officers of the Museum. We regret still more, that the commissioners found it necessary, in the discharge of

the duty assigned them, to publish so much concerning the internal dissensions, the jealousies and ill feeling, which prevail among the heads of the departments and officers themselves. From their vocation and relative position, we should expect no other than the expression of the kindest sentiments, and the cultivation of the most genial feelings. We would not dwell on these ungrateful and delicate topics, though we do not feel justified in passing them over in entire silence.

The government of the Museum is vested in a Board of Trustees, 48 in number, of whom one is named directly by the Crown, 23 are official, 9 are named by the representatives or executors of parties who have been donors to the institution, and 15 are elected. The Royal Trustee is H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge. Among the official trustees are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Chief Justice, the Presidents of some of the principal scientific and literary associations, and other high dignitaries of the nation. Among the elected trustees are Sir Robert Peel, Henry Hallam, and T. B. Macaulay.

“Such a Board of Trustees, to any one who considers the individuals who compose it, with reference to their rank, intelligence, and ability, would give assurance rather than promise of the most unexceptionable, and, indeed, wisest administration in every department. High attainments in literature and in science, great knowledge and experience of the world and its affairs, and practised habits of business, distinguish many of them in an eminent degree; and it would be unjust either to deny the interest which all of them feel in the prosperity of the institution, or refrain from acknowledging the devoted services which some of them have rendered in its administration. But, on the other hand, absorbing public cares, professional avocations, and the pursuits of private life, must, in many instances, prevent those individuals whose assistance might have been relied on from giving any thing like continued attention to the affairs of the Institution; and, what is perhaps of more importance, the large number of the Board, by dividing, or rather extinguishing, individual duty or responsibility, has, in a great measure, interfered with the superintendence and control which might have been usefully exercised by any smaller selected number specially charged with the duty.” — p. 3.

There appears to be no opportunity afforded, by means of

personal intercourse between the officers of the different departments and the Trustees, for consultation and advice relative to the management of the various and complicated affairs of the Museum. The Trustees, or such a number of them as find it convenient, meet once a month. No notice is given to them beforehand of the business to be brought before them, and all communications are by the means of written reports.

"We are compelled to add, that the mode in which the business is brought before the Trustees seems in itself as objectionable as the want of notice. It is done almost invariably by means of written reports. Not to mention the reports of the assistants and subordinate officers, the heads of departments communicate with the Board by written reports. These reports are transmitted to the Trustees by the principal librarian, who accompanies them with another report, in which he states such observations as occur to him. Neither the principal librarian nor the heads of departments are, except in extraordinary cases, admitted to the board-room when the business of their department is under consideration. The reports themselves, from the great increase of the establishment, have become so voluminous, that they cannot be read entirely at the meeting of Trustees." — p. 6.

The Commissioners further say, —

"We find, however, there is scarcely one of the highest officers of the institution who has not complained of systematic exclusion from the Board when the affairs of his department are under consideration, as equally disparaging to himself and injurious to the interests of the department, giving no opportunity of explaining their reports, or meeting the objections and criticisms to which they may have been subject; and their own absence, joined to that of the principal librarian, leaves them under the painful but natural impression, where their suggestions are disallowed, that the interests with which they are charged have not been fully represented. We cannot but ascribe to this cause the unfortunate and unseemly jealousies which the evidence shows to have long existed among the principal officers of the Museum — their distrust in the security of the means by which they communicate with the Board — their misgivings as to the fulness and fairness of the consideration which their suggestions receive — and their feelings of injustice done to their own department, arising, it may be, from an over zeal for its interests, or over estimate of its importance." — p. 7.

Whilst looking over the Report and minutes of evidence,

we have had frequently forced upon our attention the unpleasant fact of "the want of harmony and good understanding between the heads of different departments." We are sorry to see that these internal dissensions are so great, and have been of so long standing. It is well known that much dissatisfaction was manifested in certain quarters when Mr. Panizza was, several years since, appointed Librarian, or Keeper of the Printed Books. The chief reasons given for dissatisfaction at his appointment, and for his commission bearing an earlier date than that of Sir Frederic Madden, were : First, that Mr. Panizza was a foreigner, and secondly, that he had not been so long a time in the Museum ; either of which facts it was considered ought to prevent his having precedence over Sir Frederic Madden. We have no desire or occasion to pass judgment on the propriety or justice of the original appointment, but we feel bound to say, in view of all the facts which have been elicited by the investigations of the Commissioners, that it would be a difficult matter to find in any country another man so preëminently fitted to take charge of such a department, as Antonio Panizza. Through his agency, in a great degree, the recent large and valuable additions to its numbers have been made, and a system of management been devised and adopted, which gives this collection the character of the *MODEL LIBRARY* for the world. And here we cannot do better than to borrow the remarks of Professor Jewett, alluded to in the Report of the Commissioners, and published in full with the minutes, of evidence. Few persons are so well entitled to express an opinion on such a subject. Writing to a friend in London, who had desired to know his views, he says, —

"I have heard with regret, not unmingled with *indignation*, of the complaints which have been made against Mr. Panizza's management of the Library of the British Museum. You ask my opinion *in extenso* on the subject. This I am most ready to give. You know that, after having been employed for several years as a Librarian, and having thus become familiar with all the details of a Librarian's duties, I spent two years on the continent of Europe, visiting the principal libraries, for the purpose of collecting such information as would enable us in America to establish our libraries on the best possible foundation. With this preparation I went to England. You know how much time I spent at the British

Museum, and how kindly and courteously we were both received by all the gentlemen connected with the establishment. The opinion which I then formed, and which I believe I expressed to Mr. Panizza, I still hold — that any person who wishes to become thoroughly acquainted with the whole subject of *Bibliotheksweisenschaft* (to use a German term for which we have no English equivalent,) with the science of libraries, — need go no farther than the British Museum. In my opinion, it is by far the best regulated library in the world. The books are more faithfully guarded, and the public are more promptly served, than in any other library with which I am acquainted. No doubt the whole affair would have been in much better shape had Mr. Panizza had the management of it from the outset." — p. 265.

We shall not attempt to grapple with that complicated and vexatious subject which has occasioned so much controversy in England, and to which the commissioners were obliged to devote so much attention, — the Museum Catalogue. A separate and entire article would hardly be sufficient to consider the matter in its various aspects and bearings, and to present the different theories which have been started, and the numerous objections which have been brought against them all. We entertain some pretty decided opinions on the general subject of library catalogues, which we may possibly offer to our readers at a future time.

At this time, however, it may not be amiss to mention, that the plan proposed by Mr. Cooley to the commissioners of the Museum, and received with so much favor by them, namely, to stereotype the titles of the books separately, originated, several years since, with an eminent bibliographer in this country, Professor Jewett, then of Brown University, and now one of the officers of the Smithsonian Institution. Professor Jewett has devoted much time and thought to maturing and perfecting his plan. He has mentioned it freely to those persons who are most interested in such matters in this country, and has communicated his views to some of his friends in Europe. The plan has been received with approbation by the managers of some of our larger libraries, and arrangements have been made for carrying it into speedy effect. We are glad that it finds favor also in England; though we notice that Mr. Cooley embarrasses it with impracticable adjuncts, which will be likely to defeat his object. An important improvement of the plan was suggested, and specimens were shown,

at a recent meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, by the Rev. E. E. Hale, of Worcester; namely, substituting electrotypes for common stereotype plates. We presume that the public will soon be in possession of the details of Professor Jewett's plan, which has been known to individuals for several years. We hope that when this is the case, the author will not be accused of borrowing it without credit from an English source.

It is a lamentable fact that the matchless collection of books contained in the British Museum has no catalogue. The means of using the rich literary treasures, which have been obtained and preserved with so much care and cost, have not yet been provided. No one can tell the exact character of the contents of the library, and, of course, it does not at present answer the highest purpose for which it was designed. A great library without a catalogue has been well described by Carlyle, as a chaos and not a cosmos. Some thirty or forty years ago, a catalogue in eight octavo volumes was printed, giving the titles of books then in the library. It was an unpretending though very useful publication, not free from errors, but sufficiently accurate for the common purposes of consultation. Since that time, the contents of the Museum library have been quadrupled in number, and incalculably increased in value. Yet the only portion of a general catalogue which has been printed, since the one named above, is a single folio volume embracing only the titles which fall under the letter A; and the further publication of the work has been indefinitely postponed. The reading-room of the institution, it is true, contains something intended to answer the purposes of a catalogue, to be used only on the spot. It is partly in manuscript and partly in print, and fills, in its present very incomplete state, 70 or 80 folio volumes. The want of a printed catalogue has been the cause of much controversy and complaint.

This is a subject, presenting more numerous and much greater difficulties than persons, who have not made it a matter of careful study, are aware of. Even the bibliographical giant at the Museum, who has for a long time past had the matter in special charge, has not been able satisfactorily to master it. Many years of thoughtful attention and laborious industry have been insufficient to produce the desired catalogue.

There has been much vexatious interference concerning the manner of making out the manuscript, from persons claiming superior wisdom and authority. This has only tended to interrupt and delay the completion of the work. The multitude of literary men in England have become impatient and clamorous for its appearance in print, though they have no proper appreciation of the obstacles in the way of its speedy publication.

There are two parties on the catalogue question. Mr. Panizza and his friends maintain, that the great and important thing to which all their efforts should tend, is the preparation of a manuscript catalogue with the title entered in full, and with numerous cross references. This would undoubtedly be of great service to all who could consult it at the Museum. It would certainly be a great bibliographical curiosity; filling a very large number of volumes (500 in folio, it is estimated,) and needing the work of many years. This manuscript catalogue, intended to be superior in its plan and execution to any ever before produced, has been said, apparently with much truth, to be Mr. Panizza's favorite hobby. His views are ably advocated by Professor De Morgan, John Wilson Croker, Mr. Hallam, and other distinguished literary gentlemen. It is maintained by them, that, as the library is not a lending one, but the books must be consulted at the Museum, this description of catalogue will be better than a briefer printed one. The objections to the printing of the catalogue of such a constantly increasing library arise from the fact, that it must necessarily be incomplete, although it would extend in print to at least forty folio volumes, and cost fifty thousand pounds. To abridge the titles would, it is said, be likely to occasion and perpetuate numerous errors. In answer to the question, —

“Do you think it would have been possible by any other plan than that which is now in progress, to have consulted the impatience of the public for a complete catalogue; could you have sacrificed, in some degree, uniformity and fulness without material disadvantage?”

Mr. Panizza says,—

“No, it could not have been done. The complaints against the present catalogue [i. e. the printed one in eight volumes] are, in fact, that the titles are not full and accurate, and if those who

compiled them, Sir Henry Ellis and my predecessor, had not been hurried, I have no doubt that they would have made a much better catalogue. They made as good a catalogue as they could make, under the pressure of the trustees wishing for a "compendious" catalogue immediately. If we now publish another catalogue in a hurry, we never shall have a good one. We shall publish one in a hurry, and then again, when that is completed, we must publish another still in a hurry. What we really want now is a catalogue on a lasting basis carefully compiled, serving as a pattern for titles to be added ever after — a catalogue that shall be creditable to such an institution as this, and such as the public have a right to expect, and not any more make-shifts as we have had hitherto. If we are to have short titles, we not only have to do what has been done hitherto, but we have actually to spoil the good titles which we have."— p. 235.

The other party, at the head of which we should place Sir Robert Inglis, a trustee of the Museum who has devoted much time and thought to the subject, insists on the practicability and expediency of printing without delay a correct compendious catalogue, giving in brief the title of every work in the collection. Lord Mahon, Bolton Corney, and Thomas Carlyle are among the numerous and able supporters of this view. The Rev. Josiah Forshall, who has been for many years Secretary to the Trustees of the Museum, says, —

"I take the liberty of stating my own unvarying, but more and more confirmed, and now perfectly established conviction, that if the public are to have a proper use of the Museum Library, *there must be a printed catalogue* of its contents; and I speak confidently, not merely because my convictions are thus complete, but because, in the course of my experience, I have met with very few persons indeed, of an average amount of common sense, and well acquainted with the subject, who were not substantially of the same mind; and I am pretty sure that if the Commissioners were to examine not merely the officers of this House, but the chief librarians of all the public libraries in this country, such as those of the Universities, of Sion College, the London Institution, and Red Cross Street, they would find a very general concurrence of opinion upon that point; and it is my firm belief that there is no money that could be expended by government so profitably with a view to the improvement of the people, as that which may be necessary for the publication of a good printed catalogue of the library of the Museum—I say a good catalogue. Any printed catalogue is far better than none. A catalogue with one tenth part of the merit of the old octavo catalogue is vastly better than

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none. But the catalogue printed by the Trustees of the British Museum, the national catalogue of this national library, ought to be a good catalogue, one of the best of its kind; and I venture, from an experience of 27 or 28 years, to assert that there is no real difficulty in producing it."—p. 356.

The commissioners in their report declare themselves unequivocally and strongly against printing, for the present at least, any catalogue. Their decision is not likely to be quietly acquiesced in by the literary men of Great Britain. It has created much dissatisfaction. Already there have been some fierce attacks upon the report. We shall not enter into the controversy; but, having stated the principal points at issue, leave it to be settled by the parties most nearly concerned, though the result will be regarded with deep interest by the whole literary world.

The other matters which claimed the attention of the commissioners were of minor importance and of less general interest; and as they have no direct bearing upon the particular subject which we have been considering, we pass them over without further remark. We cannot, however, close our notice of the Report without expressing our high gratification that, notwithstanding the difficulties and complaints to which we have alluded, this noble national institution is in a highly prosperous condition, and our hope, that it will not be long before the United States will successfully emulate the example of Great Britain.

The two pamphlets, whose titles are placed last on our list, may be regarded as auspicious signs full of good promise. Our limits at present will hardly allow us to give even a brief outline of the prospects and plans of the institutions to which they relate.

The Astor Library owes its existence to the munificence of John Jacob Astor, who died on the 29th day of March, 1848, leaving by his will the sum of \$400,000 for the establishment of a public library in the city of New York. He named twelve trustees. The Mayor of the city and the Chancellor of the State for the time being, in respect to their offices, were to be of the Board, with Washington Irving, Joseph G. Cogswell, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and seven others. Washington Irving was appointed President of the Trustees, and Mr. Cogswell

well Superintendent of the Library, both by the unanimous vote of the Board.

“On the 28th of October, 1848, Mr. Cogswell, the superintendent, was authorized to go to Europe and purchase, at his discretion, books for the library to the value of twenty thousand dollars, his expenses to be defrayed by the institution, and the books paid for out of the first moneys to be received from the executors of Mr. Astor's will. The object of the trustees in sending Mr. Cogswell abroad at that particular time was to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the distracted political condition of Europe and the reduction of prices consequent upon it, to purchase books at very low rates; and they deem it proper to say in this place, in order to avoid the necessity of recurring to the subject, that the trust confided to him has been executed to their perfect satisfaction, that the purchases were made at prices greatly below the ordinary standard, and they consider it due to him to add, that his selections fully confirm the high estimate they had placed on his peculiar fitness for the services he has performed, and is performing, in the establishment of the library.” — p. 5.

One of the conditions of the bequest has caused the trustees much embarrassment. The will contains the following emphatic clause, namely, “I direct that the sum to be appropriated for erecting the library building shall not exceed seventy-five thousand dollars.” It has been found very difficult to obtain a satisfactory plan for an edifice which could be built for this sum, and which would combine the various requisites of size, solidity, and security against fire. The wisdom of Mr. Astor, in imposing this restriction, has been doubted by some persons, though the trustees make no complaint concerning the matter. A glance at Girard College, Gore Hall, and the Boston Athenæum ought to convince any one, that the temptation to indulge a taste for architectural display, even at the expense and by the sacrifice, in a great degree, of the real wants and legitimate objects of such institutions, is sufficient to overcome the judgment of men having a high reputation for wisdom and for the exercise of judicious economy. The trustees of the Astor Library have succeeded in forming a contract for a suitable building at the above named cost. It will be 65 feet front and 120 feet deep, and is to be completed by the first of April, 1852. *

The library will not be considered as formed until \$120,000, being the whole amount which is authorized by Mr. Astor's

will to be applied to the purchase of books in the outset of the institution, has been expended. The smallest number of books, which the trustees consider it safe to estimate as a basis for enlargement, is one hundred thousand volumes. The number of books now collected amounts to over 20,000 volumes. These are arranged on temporary shelves in a house hired for the purpose; and any persons desiring to view or use the books are permitted to do so. No little surprise has been expressed by visitors acquainted with the value of such works, on learning that the entire cost, thus far, has been only about \$27,000. We doubt whether so large and valuable a collection of books has ever before been purchased on so favorable terms.

Particular attention appears to have been paid to the selection of the best books on bibliography. It appears, in the report of the trustees, that the valuable bibliographical works, amounting already to about one thousand volumes, were presented to the institution by the librarian. "Mr. Cogswell has thus become, in effect, the founder of a department of great importance in connection with the library, to be completed by a large additional contribution from his own means." We have before us an unpretending pamphlet of thirty pages, being a printed list of these works, which the compiler says is designed merely to answer the simple question, "Does such a work belong to the library?" It is, however, of itself, a valuable contribution to bibliography, and though printed anonymously, is evidently the work of the learned librarian. If published, it would be of great use to many persons who cannot avail themselves directly of the advantages of the library.

The Astor Library will, probably, when first formed, contain a larger number and a better selection of books than any other in the United States. With the generous provision which the founder has made for its increase, together with the liberal donations which will undoubtedly come to this as the largest library in the country, it is likely to grow rapidly, till it shall take rank with the large libraries of the Old World. Under the direction of an enlightened and judicious Board of Trustees, with Mr. Irving for President, and Mr. Cogswell for Superintendent of the library, there is every reason to believe, that the desire so warmly expressed at the conclusion

of the report will be fulfilled: — “That the Astor Library may soon become, as a depository of the treasures of literature and science, what the city possessing it is rapidly becoming in commerce and wealth.”

From local situation and other causes which will readily suggest themselves to the reader, the chief interest and benefits of the Astor Library will be felt by the particular State and city where it is established. We hope that private munificence or public patronage will originate and support elsewhere many other similar libraries. Still something more will be necessary. We must have a large national library, to which we can point men of other countries as the substantial evidence of interest in the promotion of literature and science; and to which we can direct such of our own scholars as are desirous of availing themselves of the highest and fullest authorities in their investigations and studies. The time has come when this subject demands, and is likely to receive, speedy and efficient attention.

The foundation of the Smithsonian Institution affords one of the most favorable opportunities that was ever offered in any country for the establishment of such a library. We are sure that a much wider and deeper interest on this subject pervades the community, than has been publicly expressed. We know that many are with confident expectation awaiting the proceedings of the Regents and Officers of that institution. They to whom the management of its affairs is entrusted appear to be working together vigorously for this, in connection with the other great objects of the institution. It is a design worthy of their best wishes and best efforts, and they will be sustained in it by the coöperation and sympathy of men of letters and men of science throughout the country. May we not reasonably hope, that our national senators and representatives will regard the matter with special favor? Let Congress emulate the noble example of the British Parliament, by a liberal grant, and we shall soon have an institution that, in extent and usefulness, will rival the British Museum, and be an honor to the country.

- ART. X.—1. *Speech of HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, on the Resolutions of Compromise offered by him to settle and adjust amicably all Existing Questions of Controversy between the States, arising out of the Institution of Slavery*; delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 5th, 1850.
2. *Speech of SAMUEL S. PHELPS, of Vermont, on the Subject of Slavery*; delivered in the Senate, January 23, 1850.
3. *Speech of JOHN M. BERRIEN, of Georgia, on Mr. Clay's Proposed Compromise*; delivered in the Senate, February 11th, 1850.
4. *Speech of SOLOMON U. DOWNS, of Louisiana, on the Compromise Resolutions of Mr. Clay*; delivered in the Senate, February 18th, 1850.
5. *Speech of DANIEL WEBSTER, of Massachusetts, on Mr. Clay's Compromise Resolutions*; delivered in the Senate, March 7th, 1850. As revised and corrected by Himself. Boston: Redding & Co. 8vo. pp. 39.
6. *Speech of HORACE MANN, of Massachusetts, on the Subject of Slavery in the Territories, and the Consequences of a Dissolution of the Union*; delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, February 15th, 1850. Boston: Redding & Co. 1850. 8vo. pp. 35.
7. *Letter of HON. HORACE MANN to his Constituents on the Slavery Question.* Revised and corrected by the Author for the Evening Traveller. 8vo. pp. 13.
8. *Report of the Select Committee of Thirteen, of the United States Senate, to whom were referred Various Resolutions respecting California, the Other Territories recently acquired from Mexico, and the Institution of Slavery; together with the Speech of HENRY CLAY upon the said Report*, delivered in the Senate, May 13th, 1850.

It is fortunate for the people of the United States that their interests do not often depend, to any great extent, upon the legislative action of Congress. In the distribution of authority between the National and the State Governments, so much power is reserved to the latter, so many subjects fall exclu-

sively within their control, that if the former, in its legislative capacity, should suddenly cease to act, if it should fall asleep, or remain in a comatose state, for a year or two, no great harm would result. At any rate, it might easily provide for such a long suspension of its activity, by merely appending a clause to each of the annual appropriation bills, providing that if Congress did not come together again for five or ten years, the government might draw from the national treasury, for each of those years, sums equal in amount to those appropriated by the bill for the first year, and might expend them for the same specified objects. Perhaps it should also be provided, that each of these sums might be increased from year to year in the same ratio with the growth of the population. If a general appropriation bill of this character were passed, we are quite confident that the interests of the country would not suffer, and its reputation would certainly be increased, if Congress should adjourn to the next century.

This opinion may appear extravagant to some ; but in support of it we have only to appeal to the action, or rather the inaction, of the present Congress. The Senators and Representatives, collected from all parts of the Union, and chosen with great care in each case, — the honor of an election being highly and almost universally prized, — have now (May 23) been in session, and have apparently been hard at work, for nearly six months ; and *how much have they accomplished?* They have passed just *four* laws ; only one of which, that for taking the seventh census, is of any public importance. The urgency in this case was very great ; for if provision had not been made in season for taking the census this summer, the whole number of representatives for the next Congress could not have been apportioned among the several States, as the Constitution requires. The Representatives, therefore, could not have been chosen ; and our supposition would have been more than fulfilled ; — the present Congress would have been the last of its race. So imminent was the peril of such a result, and so desirable did it seem that Congress should not again be exposed to the danger of dying out in this discreditable fashion, that, at the eleventh hour, amendments were introduced into the bill, fixing the ratio on which the Representatives should be distributed among the States, and ordering that the present bill should continue in force if Con-

gress, ten years hence, should fail to provide a substitute for it. We think the contrivers of these amendments showed great sagacity, and a proper appreciation of the character of the honorable body to which they belonged. The first amendment indicates their apprehension lest after the whole number of persons in the country shall be determined by the census, the present Congress at its next session should become involved in so long and so warm a dispute as to the number which shall be taken as a divisor of the whole, or which shall be allowed to choose one Representative, that the fourth of March, the limit of Congressional life, would arrive before the dispute could be adjusted; the second shows, with equal clearness, their fears lest, ten years hence, Congress should wholly fail to enact any law for taking a new census. With admirable statesmanship, they provide for both contingencies; they provide for the probable future inability of Congress to legislate at all, even in regard to the measures absolutely necessary for the continuance of its own existence. If they would append similar amendments to the annual appropriation bills, they would earn the lasting gratitude of all future Congresses, for relieving them from the very slight measure of work which it is still absolutely necessary for them to perform. They might then meet, to wrangle, make speeches, and call the yeas and nays, for the whole period of one year, three months, and four days, which is the constitutional limit of their existence; and the whole country would regard their proceedings with perfect indifference.

We would not treat this matter lightly, nor manifest any want of respect to the individual members of both houses of our national legislature, many of whom enjoy an enviable and well merited reputation as statesmen, debaters, and patriots. The Senate, in particular, is composed, for the most part, of men who might honorably have sustained their part in the most distinguished legislative assembly which has been convened in any country or in any age; and among the Representatives, there are a few who would not disgrace any post of public service to which they might be called. And even when the members of Congress are taken collectively, or in a mass, we are aware that the evil of which we complain is not to be ascribed exclusively to them, but partly to the system, and partly to the constituencies by whom they are elected. But,

by whatever causes produced, the evil in question has now attained so great a height, that it would be criminal to affect any further delicacy in pointing it out lest individuals should feel themselves aggrieved by our plain speaking.

We complain, then, that both houses of Congress have been virtually transformed into noisy and quarrelsome debating clubs, to the almost entire neglect of their proper business of legislation, nearly the whole of which is postponed to the last two or three days of the session. Then, all the bills which have been proposed, only a very few of which have undergone any discussion, are huddled together, and, after calling the yeas and nays almost continuously for many hours together, the laws which are most essential to the continued existence of the government, such as the appropriation bills, are passed under the pressure of "the previous question," and the others die a natural death, or go to sleep till the next session. Among the bills which thus come to nothing are most of those which have been debated during a greater part of the session. Thus, the two functions of Congress, debating and legislating, are effectually separated from each other; some bills are debated without being enacted, others are enacted without being debated. What is called "the long session" of each Congress usually continues about eight months, of which perhaps seven months and twenty-five days are passed in debating and calling the yeas and nays, and the other five days are given to legislation. The expense of such a session to the country is nearly fifteen hundred thousand dollars.

These statements appear so extraordinary that we must give the figures to support them. Of the 66 laws enacted during the first session of the 28th Congress, 40, or nearly two thirds of the whole, were passed during the last three days of the session. At the second, or short, session of the same body, 24 laws, just half of the whole number, went through their last stage on the last day of the session. At the first term of the 29th Congress, out of 79 public laws, only 27 were enacted during the first six months, while 29 were passed during the last three days; at the second term, out of 47, all but 19 were completed on the last two days of the session. The 30th Congress paid a little more attention to the public business; at its first term, out of 102 laws, 62 passed before the session was within a month of its close; but at its second

term, only 16 laws out of 60 were enacted when the Congress had but two days more to live. The present, or 31st, Congress, as we have seen, has made a woful beginning; it has been six months in session, and it has enacted but four laws. The Representatives were three weeks in session, and balloted 64 times, before they could choose a speaker; three more weeks elapsed before a clerk and a sergeant at arms were chosen, and the organization of the House is not yet complete, for a doorkeeper and a postmaster still remain to be elected. But speeches have been delivered by the cartload, and public documents printed by the ton, though not a tenth part of the former were listened to, nor a hundredth part of the latter read, by the persons to whom they were immediately addressed.

If these results are compared with the action of any of the State legislatures in the Union, the contrast exhibited will be a very humiliating one for Congress. We can speak definitely only of that State with whose legislative action we are naturally most familiar, — of Massachusetts. Her General Court, as it is called, is usually in session only about four months of each year; and during this period, in 1849, it passed 248 general and special statutes, and 120 resolves; 25 of the former and 15 of the latter were completed during the first two months of the session, though the members were chiefly occupied during this early period in the committee rooms, in maturing the several measures which were afterwards to be discussed in the House at large. A greater variety of subjects came before them than those which claim the attention of the national legislature, and many of them were more complex in character, and more important and far reaching in their effects. Among them were general and special laws affecting banks, railroads, manufacturing corporations, the judiciary, the militia, the State system of popular education, charitable establishments, the repression of crime, the public morals and health, the creation of city governments, and many other matters which seldom or never come before the Houses at Washington; while the management of our foreign relations, of the army and navy, the tariff, and the post-office, are almost the only subjects which frequently claim the attention of Congress, while the State has nothing to do with them. Yet the Massachusetts legislature finds leisure to spend some

time in concise but earnest debate upon almost every law which it enacts ; and even, in imitation of a very bad example, it can afford to waste a week in discussing some very idle abstract resolutions about slavery, a subject with which, as the domestic law-giving power of the State, it has about as much to do as with the practice of infanticide in China.

Of course, we are not commending the legislature merely for the multitude of laws which it enacts ; we subscribe most heartily to the general principle, that the world is governed too much, and that the fewer new laws which are made the better. Some excuse, however, may be found for the great number of them which are enacted by the individual States, especially by Massachusetts, in the fact that many special subjects, or matters of detail, necessarily come within their sphere of action, which must be treated separately. As we have just shown, where cities, banks, railroads, manufacturing corporations, and the like, are to be chartered, where police and sanitary regulations are to be established, and public charities to be dispensed, legislative acts must be multiplied, or the work cannot be done. Still, the point of the contrast we are now drawing in favor of the State legislatures, (among whom we claim no preëminence whatever for that of Massachusetts,) is, not that they do many things, but that they do much. *Non multa, sed multum.* Their action is practical, efficient, business-like ; they evince a disposition to act rather than to talk. Impertinent and long-drawn debate is discountenanced ; the tedious and inefficient speaker is laughed at, and receives such mortifying tokens of the inattention of the house, that he is shamed into silence. Precisely because there is much work to be done, great diligence is shown in performing it. Congress has comparatively little to do, and therefore comparatively does nothing.

No one will suppose, of course, that there is any deficiency of important subjects on which Congress *might* act, on which, in truth, the great interests of the country imperatively require it to act, if the members did not thus scandalously separate discussion from legislation. Matters of transcendent importance, — the revision of the tariff, the reduction of the rates of postage, the amendment of the consular and diplomatic systems, the modes of depositing and transferring the public funds, and many others, — have been awaiting the

leisure of our national legislators during the whole six months which they have thus far wasted in hot debate about pure abstractions. During this period, most of the members have been talking, and many of them have been actively engaged in parliamentary manœuvres, the avowed purpose of which was to prevent or postpone all action whatever. Some half a dozen members from the North, and about as many from the South, professing respectively, in their most violent and exaggerated form, those doctrines in regard to slavery which belong to their respective localities, were able to paralyze for many weeks the action of the House, by obstructing its organization, and declaring virtually that no business should be transacted, till their extravagant demands were satisfied. These two fractions, or factions, of the House, the antipodes of each other in principle, adopt the same policy, and play into each other's hands. The fanatical opponent, and the fanatical advocate, of slavery adopt the same policy, and lock the wheels of government, in order to compel the vast majority of the members to submit to their dictation. They unite in repudiating the cardinal principle, upon which all our institutions are based, that the will of the majority, when manifested under the forms and through the channels prescribed by the Constitution and the laws, shall rule; and though their united force hardly numbers a baker's dozen, they require the other two hundred and twenty independent representatives to adopt their opinions, and to vote for their measures and men, under the penalty that Congress shall otherwise be disfranchised and disabled from the performance of its appropriate functions. Is it going too far to characterize such conduct as factious, anarchical, and anti-republican; as directly calculated to suspend the action of all government, and to reduce society itself to chaos? Is it reconcilable with the oath taken by every member to *support* the Constitution and the laws? It is miserable chicanery for such persons to affirm, that they are only exercising their undoubted privilege to vote according to their consciences and their best judgment, when this privilege is exercised with an object avowedly hostile to the purpose for which it was granted; it was given to them that they might assist the House to act, not that they might prevent its action. Every one knows, that a violation of the *spirit* of an oath is a higher offence in morals than a

transgression of the *letter* ; inasmuch as it adds the guilt of cowardly prevarication to that of intentional perjury. Submission to the legally expressed will of the majority, or resignation of his seat, is the obvious duty of every member of a legislative assembly ; he was not made a legislator in order that he might prevent all legislative action whatever.

We use strong language upon this point, because the greatest danger to which our republican institutions are now exposed proceeds from this inclination on the part of the discontented few to obstruct all action whatever, and rather to have no government at all, than a government which is in some respects distasteful to them. They adopt this principle as frequently in the primary assemblies for the election of a Representative, as in the hall of debate where the elected convene. If every congressional district in the United States had followed the example which has been pertinaciously set, during the last year and a half, by one of our own districts here in Massachusetts, and if, in every case, as it is here, an absolute majority of all the votes were required before any candidate could be chosen, the present House of Representatives could not have come into existence ; the national government would have been brought to a dead pause, a temporary suspension of all its faculties, to be soon followed by the death-struggle of a revolution or a civil war. Under a government like ours, we hold it to be the self-evident duty of every citizen, as well as of every legislator, when it has become obvious that no one party out of three or more can obtain an absolute majority, either to refrain from voting, or to cast his vote in such a manner as will promote rather than prevent an election or a decision. Otherwise, either a different rule from that of the majority must be established, or the government must come to a stand still, and democracy must end in anarchy and ruin. This rule does not take away the privilege of voting at all ; at the worst, every one has still a choice left between two, an alternative to which we are often reduced by the providence of God.

But this mulish determination not to do any thing, and to prevent others from doing any thing, when they will not do precisely what the individual's sovereign pleasure requires, though a prominent, is not the only cause of the disgraceful inactivity and inefficiency of Congress. A more frequent

obstacle to the transaction of business arises from the fact, that members are less disposed to give time and labor to their appropriate legislative functions than to vindicating their own position with their constituents. Their speeches are addressed not to each other, not to the whole House, not even to the proper subject of debate for the moment ; but to an audience some hundreds or thousands of miles off, and to all the topics in which they suppose their constituents to be interested. Sometimes a member is frank enough to declare, that he does not wish for any audience but the speaker and the clerk, for what he purposes to say is addressed to his constituents, who are on the banks, it may be, of the Mississippi or the Connecticut. He would be puzzled to tell why, with this intention, he should travel as far as Washington, when it would be so much more convenient for him to address them at home. Of course, a number of orations delivered for such a purpose do not constitute a discussion or a debate. One is not made as a reply to another, nor does any one of them have any effect upon the proceedings of the House, except to delay its action.

We take at random, from the *National Intelligencer*, a specimen of the manner in which the Representatives at Washington have occupied the hours of each daily session for the last few months. After specifying the merely formal business of the opening of the session, such as correcting the journal, presenting petitions, and the like, the report for the 21st of May last goes on as follows :—

“ On motion of Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Boyd, of Kentucky, in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the message of the President transmitting the constitution of the State of California.

“ Mr. Haymond being entitled to the floor, addressed the committee in a speech on the subject of slavery, which occupied his allotted hour.

“ Mr. Gerry followed, and also spoke, an hour on the same subject.

“ Mr. King, of Massachusetts, also spoke an hour on the same subject.

“ Mr. Thomas then obtained the floor, but yielded to a motion that the committee rise ; which being agreed to, the committee rose.

“ And the House adjourned.”

Only alter the names from day to day, and this record might be stereotyped as a journal of the proceedings of the House during a greater part of this session. As the present number of members is 231, it was found, a few years ago, that even a nine months' session, would not suffice, if each one should deliver a speech as long as he saw fit. Accordingly, the "hour-rule" was established, so that the House can now sit through three, and when it is very industrious, even four, speeches a day. A very easy calculation, then, will show, that the speech-making upon any given subject ought to be finished in a little more than two months; for the spirit of the rule undoubtedly requires, that no member should "deliver his sentiments" more than once upon the same topic. But the more loquacious are not content till they have spoken three or four hour-orations, reports of which can be sent home to their constituents as proofs of their activity and diligence as legislators. If the discretion of the speaker will not allot them the floor a second time when the grand theme is ostensibly before the House, they can perchance obtain it when the tariff, the post-office, or some other nearly related topic is under consideration, and still occupy the hour with an essay upon slavery, either in continuation of their former remarks, or as a rejoinder to the oration of some other member delivered several weeks before. It is quite safe to compute, that over three hundred distinct essays upon the subject of slavery in the Territories have been spoken in the House during the last six months; their delivery has occupied almost the whole time which was not given to balloting for the speaker and the other officers.

The Senate, having only 60 members, has not found it necessary to adopt the hour-rule; and accordingly, the speeches which have been delivered before it upon the leading topic of the day, have seldom been less than five or six hours in length, and many of them have been extended through the greater part of two days. These *lengthy* orations have usually been of a high order of excellence; most of them have been grave, dignified, and argumentative discourses, showing a profound study of the subject, great familiarity with constitutional law, and remarkable acuteness and ingenuity in setting forth the speaker's peculiar views, and defending them by a formidable array of facts and reasonings. Apparently

not an inch of progress has been made in the attempt to bring the question to a close ; but the public have now the advantage of knowing with great precision the opinions of each Senator upon every branch of the subject, and, as might be expected, when the topic is so very comprehensive, that no two Senators think exactly alike about it. Every degree of the thermometer, every shade of color in the solar spectrum, is represented by the various doctrines that have been maintained on the floor of the Senate, from the "extreme right" of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clemens to the "extreme left" of Mr. Seward and Mr. Hale. No one scheme for settling the whole difficulty can possibly obtain the hearty and undivided support of more than one Senator. If these various opinions were held only by the individuals who have advocated them before the Senate, there would still be a hope that the community at large might come to an agreement, and that public opinion, having finally settled a plan of compromise, might present it in a manner so authoritative as to secure its adoption by Congress. Unluckily, this is not the case ; each Senator — with two or three exceptions to be noticed hereafter — has delivered precisely that opinion which he believes to be the prevalent one in the State which he represents. Obviously, then, without concession, without compromise, without a disposition to give up a part for the sake of securing the remainder, the difficulty *cannot* be settled ; its final or even its partial adjustment is impossible.

We are not vain enough to suppose that, within the narrow limits of an article, any thing could be said upon this perplexing topic which has not already, and far more ably, been presented to the Senate in that unparalleled debate, which has now lasted full six months, and in which the greatest intellects of the country have participated. That debate, if reported and printed at length, would occupy at least ten octavo volumes, each containing twice as much matter as a number of this Review. Let those who would know all that can be said upon all branches of the subject address themselves to the perusal of those volumes, as they would to the study of a new science, or to the acquisition of a new language ; we shall not aim to give even an abstract of them. The titles of half a dozen of the more remarkable of the speeches which have been delivered in the Senate are quoted at the head of this

article ; and since most of these are in favor of some conciliatory measures, some plan of compromise, we have added to them a speech and a letter by a distinguished representative from our own State, Mr. Horace Mann, who has presented the ablest argument that we have seen in favor of doing nothing, or — what amounts to the same thing — of insisting that the extreme Northern doctrine shall be carried out upon every point, yielding to the South nothing, and of course giving up the hope of any settlement. These speeches and documents are now before us, and with their aid, we propose to look at the subject in the only aspect, perhaps, in which it has not yet been considered ; the effect which the further agitation of it is likely to have upon the power of Congress, to exercise its proper functions as a legislative body, and to acquire or maintain a reputation as an assembly of wise and practical statesmen.

The main question is, whether the introduction of slavery into any part of the territory recently ceded to this country by Mexico shall be directly prohibited by law. Most of the members from the Free States maintain that it ought to be so prohibited ; to oppose the diffusion of slavery seems to them a moral obligation, resulting directly from the laws of conscience and of God, and, therefore, overriding all considerations of expediency, and constituting an end to be pursued, if necessary, by the sacrifice of all other rights and interests whatsoever. The Southern members affirm, that this ceded territory is the common property of all the States, to which all the inhabitants of our country have an equal right to migrate, and to carry their property along with them ; that the Georgian has as good a right to transport his slaves thither, as the New York emigrant has to carry his domestic animals or his farming utensils ; that the existence of slavery is recognized in the Constitution by the clause directing the surrender of fugitive slaves, and by another clause which allows three fifths of the slaves to be counted in making up the number which is requisite for sending one representative to Congress, and as the Constitution is extended over the new territory by the very act of its cession to the United States, slavery also is extended along with it ; so that the direct prohibition of slavery in this territory would be both illegal and unjust. In this way, issue is joined, and either party refuses to budge an

inch from its position ; and as each possesses the power, either by its numerical majority, by infinite speech-making, or by endless calls for the yeas and nays upon frivolous motions, to prevent all legislation, not only upon this matter, but upon any other which may claim the attention of Congress, it is obvious that the disgraceful inactivity of this session may be continued for an indefinite period. Congress must either virtually cease to act, or this question must be adjusted by a compromise.

The question arises, then, whether the point at issue is important enough to induce either party to maintain its ground in relation to it in this desperate and discreditable fashion. We maintain that it is not, but that it is a pure abstraction, so that, whichever way decided, it will not affect the conduct or the interests of a single inhabitant, either of the Free or the Slave States. And first, as to the moral obligation to prevent the diffusion of slavery, which is alleged to be the chief motive for insisting upon the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso. Other reasons, it is true, may be alleged in favor of the prohibition ; but as they relate only to expediency, or to an equality of privileges between the North and the South, they do not furnish a motive of action sufficiently strong to justify a rejection of any compromise, and to require the supporters of the Proviso to adhere to it at all hazards, even at the cost of breaking up the Union, or of reducing Congress to helplessness and inaction. Now, the *diffusion* of slavery is a very different thing from the *creation* of it. All that can reasonably be said is, that we are morally bound at all hazards to prevent any person now free from being made a slave, except as a punishment for crime ; if he is already a slave, and it is confessed that we are under an obligation to allow him to remain so where he is, we are not morally bound to resist unto death any attempt to transport him from Georgia to California. Looking at the thing *exclusively* in its ethical aspect, it is a matter of indifference whether he lives in one State or another. The wrong, the crime, of slavery attaches to persons, not to places. For all that we know, the condition of the slave himself may be ameliorated by such transportation. It is not expected, it is not even pretended, that the passage of the Wilmot Proviso would immediately cause the manumission of a single slave, or that a failure to enact it

would reduce a single freeman to bondage. It is admitted on all hands, that the number of slaves within the limits of the United States would not be directly increased or diminished by one, however this vexed question may be decided. The moral and religious obligation, then, which binds us to open the prison door of the captive and to let the oppressed go free, has no application whatever to the point at issue.

But it may be said, that the *indirect* consequence of prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the Territories will be to hasten the decay and fall of the institution in the States where it already exists; because, as the field of employment for slave labor in its present locality is limited, and large portions of it are diminishing in value from exhaustion of the soil, while the number of slaves is constantly increasing, they must, finally, if prevented from migrating to a virgin soil, come to be rather a burden than a profit to their masters, who will then gladly emancipate them. To this it might be answered, that it is a very doubtful morality which urges us to do indirectly, by subterfuge or stealth, that which all admit we have no direct power to accomplish; namely, to abolish slavery within the States where it now exists, and has existed ever since their formation. But let this pass; we will not impugn the casuistry, questionable as it may be, of a party most of whom are certainly governed by high conscientious motives. It is better to meet them on their own ground, and ask them if they are seriously prepared to maintain, that we are under a paramount moral obligation to do every thing, and at all hazards, (for here is the pinch of the difficulty,) which, according to our fallible judgment, may tend, however remotely, to discountenance the institution of slavery, or to shorten the period of its existence. If so, then a very grave and far-reaching duty is certainly incumbent upon them. They must immediately cease to consume what are usually called slave products; they must wear no cotton, eat no sugar or rice, use no tobacco, and have no trade or intercourse, direct or indirect, with slaveholders. In respect to all these things, their motto must be, Touch not, taste not, handle not. Are they prepared to accept this doctrine with all its consequences? We are not refining unduly. Nothing is hazarded by the assertion, that, very numerous as their party is, who for conscientious motives now call for the enactment of the

Wilmot Proviso, the universal rejection by them of all slave products, followed, as their example surely would be, by the more rigid opponents of slavery in England, would be a far more direct and serious blow to slavery, than to inhibit its diffusion into New Mexico and California.

But we go farther. Slavery is not the only evil and crime of so fearful a character that the obligation to oppose it at all risks extends even to the causes which may be supposed indirectly or remotely to encourage or promote it. Civil war is attended with consequences at least equally disastrous and wicked. How far, in this case, are we bound to look into the future, and to avoid the slightest speech or action which by any possibility, or in its farthest results, can tend to kindle or to widen the conflagration? Perchance, in avoiding the Scylla of one offence, we may fall into the Charybdis of another. Zeal is not the only quality which promotes good works; the fiery energy, which stimulates our efforts against a particular evil, may wholly consume the habit of circumspection and watchfulness which alone can guard us against many others.

We deny, then, that there is any peculiar sacredness or stringency whatever in the obligation of the Representatives from the Free States to support the Wilmot Proviso. The prohibition of slavery in the Territories stands upon the same ground with other proposed legislative measures; it is supported by grave considerations of utility and political expediency. It will not affect the freedom or the natural and inalienable rights of a single human being; but it will greatly affect the future prosperity of New Mexico, Utah, and California. It is open, then, to compromise and final adjustment upon the same principles which have decided many other contested issues in Congress. That dogged determination, which often proceeds as much from native obstinacy of disposition as from conscientious adherence to principle, is just as much out of place here as if it were manifested upon the question of cheap postage.

Thus far, we have stated the argument as if the prohibition of slavery in the territory recently acquired from Mexico were still an open question; as if slavery would unquestionably go thither, if Congress should not directly prohibit it from going. But this is a mere supposition, and it is not true. Slavery is

already shut out from this territory, (Texas, with its disputed boundaries, excepted,) not by the law of Congress, but by the law of God. The physical characteristics of the country are adverse to the existence of African slaves; the soil and the climate will not tolerate their presence. The people of California, in view of this fact, have acted for themselves, and have made assurance doubly sure; they have excluded the dreaded institution by express enactment in their constitution. Congress may refuse to admit California into the Union, but it cannot compel the people to undo their own work, and to admit what they have solemnly determined to exclude. The same considerations, which have induced the Californians to act in this manner, will unquestionably lead the people of Utah and New Mexico to follow their example; they will exclude slaves because the nature of their soil and climate must ever render slavery unprofitable. Throughout this broad region slavery never had any more than a nominal existence; and it was directly abolished by the act of the Mexican government in 1829, which act was confirmed and ratified by the Mexican Congress in 1837. The habits of the people being thus formed and their inclinations directed, the emigration thither—what there is of it—being also almost exclusively from the Free States, there is no doubt that the inhabitants, when they come to legislate for themselves, will expressly prohibit an institution which they see to be unprofitable to them in their present circumstances, and must apprehend as a future curse. Cotton, sugar, rice, and coffee, will not grow in their territory; and where these products cannot be raised, slaves must be rather an injury than a profit to their masters. The country has now been, more than two years, the property of the United States, and no evidence has yet been produced that a single slave has been carried thither. Yet the whole South was eager to plant the peculiar “domestic institution” there, in order to secure a claim to the territory; no legislation as yet prohibits it, though the danger at one period appeared imminent that Congress would soon change the famous Proviso into a law. With all this inducement for slaveholders to be speedy in their action, and to secure that possession which constitutes nine points of the law, not one of them has been willing to peril his property by removing slaves to the territory.

Under these circumstances, what are the opponents of the introduction of slavery to do? If they insist upon prohibiting it by law, it is morally certain that Congress will adjourn without accomplishing any thing, without admitting California into the Union, without establishing any government for the Territories, without abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and, very likely, even without passing the annual appropriation bills, which are necessary for the continued existence of our own government. No reasonable person, who has watched the proceedings of Congress during the present session, can deny that this result, or want of a result, is inevitable. If an insignificant fraction, only a dozen members, were able to delay the organization of the House for many weeks, it is certain that 96 Representatives and 30 Senators, who come from the Slave States, can prevent any action for the remainder of the session. We say nothing of the peril of disunion and civil war, because we do not believe that any such peril as yet exists. But the danger that the session will come to a stormy and discreditable close, without accomplishing any thing, *does* exist, and is of fearful magnitude.

Suppose, then, that we are willing to encounter this danger, and to make the sacrifice, however great, which will result from the breaking up of the national legislature without the enactment of any law, except the four already passed. Do we thereby secure our main object, and gain the prize that we have been contending for? By no means. *Inaction is just what the South demands.* The North asks for legislation upon the subject; it asks that California may be admitted into the Union, with its present constitution that forbids the existence of slavery. The South wishes to postpone or prevent a measure which will simply add two votes, both in the Senate and the House, to the party of the Free States. The North asks that slavery may be prevented by law from extending into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico; the South does not wish for a law that will directly sanction or enjoin the introduction of slavery, but merely that the land may remain open, without any legislative guards or prohibitions whatsoever. It simply denies the power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject, whether for the restriction or the diffusion of slavery. Of course, its object is gained if Congress adjourns in confusion, without passing a compromise or any other law

affecting the Territories. This is the universal Southern doctrine ; both the Missouri compromise and the resolutions for the annexation of Texas declare, that such States as may be formed south of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ "shall be admitted into the Union *with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire ;*" and in such States as shall be formed "north of said Missouri compromise line, *slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited,*" whether the people desire it or not. Mr. T. B. King, member of Congress from Georgia, and recently the United States government agent in and for California, in his Report to the President, speaks as follows of the action of the Californians in forming a constitution for themselves, and excluding slavery.

"They were not unmindful of the fact, that while Northern statesmen had contended that Congress has power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, they had always admitted that the States of the Union had the right to abolish or establish it at pleasure.

"On the other hand, *Southern statesmen had almost unanimously contended that Congress has not the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, because they have not the power to establish it ;* but that the people, in forming a government for themselves, have the right to do either. *If Congress can rightfully do one, they can certainly do the other.*

"This is the doctrine put forth by Mr. Calhoun, in his celebrated Resolutions of 1847, introduced into the Senate of the United States, among which is the following : —

"*Resolved, That it is a fundamental principle in our political creed, that a people in forming a constitution have the unconditional right to form and adopt the government which they may think best calculated to secure their liberty, prosperity, and happiness ; and in conformity thereto, no other condition is imposed by the Federal Constitution on a State, in order to be admitted into this Union, except that its constitution shall be "republican ;"* and that the imposition of any other by Congress would not only be in violation of the constitution, but in direct conflict with the principle on which our political system rests.'

"President Polk, in his annual message, dated 5th December, 1848, uses the following language : —

"*The question is believed to be rather abstract than practical, whether slavery ever can or would exist in any portion of the acquired territory, even if it were left to the option of the slave-*

holding States themselves. From the nature of the climate and productions, in much the larger portion of it, it is certain it could never exist; and in the remainder, the probabilities are that it would not.

“But, however this may be, the question, involving as it does a principle of equality of rights of the separate and several States as equal co-partners in the confederacy, should not be disregarded.

“In organizing governments over these Territories, no duty imposed on Congress by the constitution requires that they should legislate on the subject of slavery; while their power to do so is not only seriously questioned, but denied by many of the soundest expounders of that instrument.

“Whether Congress shall legislate or not the people of the acquired Territories, when assembled in convention to form State constitutions, will possess the sole and exclusive power to determine for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.”

“The people of California, therefore, acting in conformity with the views thus expressed, and what seemed to be the generally admitted opinion in the States, had every reason to suppose, and did suppose, that by forming a constitution for themselves, and deciding this question in accordance with their own views and interests, they would be received with open arms by all parties.”

We add another brief extract from Mr. King's Report, in support of our general position, that the soil, climate, and other physical circumstances of the territory recently acquired from Mexico are so adverse to the existence of slavery, that slaveholders themselves, when they have removed thither, are opposed to its introduction:—

“Some intimations or assertions, as I am informed, have been thrown out that the South was not fairly represented in the convention. I am told by two of the members of Congress elect from California, who were members of the convention, that of the thirty-seven delegates designated in General Riley's proclamation, sixteen were from slaveholding, ten from the non-slaveholding States, and eleven who were citizens of California under the Mexican government, and that ten of those eleven came from districts below 36° 30'. So that there were in the convention twenty-six, of the thirty-seven, members from the slaveholding States, and from places south of the Missouri compromise line.

“It appears on the journal of the convention, that the clause in the constitution excluding slavery, passed unanimously.”

It should be borne in mind, that Utah and New Mexico are

even less adapted by nature than California for the presence of slavery. They are high, cold, mountainous regions, barren for the most part, and yielding not one of the products on which slave labor has ever been employed to any advantage.

It is hard to imagine a stronger case than is here presented against the continued agitation of the subject of the Wilmot Proviso, considered in reference only to the new territory recently ceded to us by Mexico. It has been shown that there is no moral obligation whatever to press the subject; that slavery was abolished throughout the whole region thirteen years ago, and has never been revived there; that the elements themselves fight against it, the laws of nature being unalterably opposed to its introduction; that the country has been entirely open to slaveholders for the last two years, and not one of them has chosen to transport his slaves thither; that the inhabitants, a majority of whom came from slave regions, as soon as they began to legislate for themselves, voluntarily and unanimously decreed that it should be for ever excluded; and lastly, that the more the Proviso is pressed in Congress, the more certain it is that nothing will be done, and that the South will obtain all it wants,—freedom from any legislation on the subject. Really, it requires all the courage and ingenuity of Mr. Mann to stand out against this plain statement of the case. The following extract from his “Letter,” in which he combats Mr. Webster’s doctrine, that slavery is excluded from California and New Mexico by the law of nature and of physical geography, is a fair specimen both of his logic and his rhetoric:—

“Now, this is drawing moral conclusions from physical premises. It is arguing from physics to metaphysics. It is determining the law of the spirit by geographical phenomena. It is undertaking to settle by mountains and rivers, and not by the ten commandments, the question of human duty. It abandons the second commandment of Christ, and all bills of rights enacted in conformity thereto, and leaves our obligations to our ‘neighbor,’ and all human rights, to be determined by the accidents of earth and water and air. To ascertain whether a people will obey the divine command, and do to others as they would be done by, it looks at the thermometer. What a problem would this be!—‘Required the height above the level of the sea at which the oppressor “will undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke,”—to be determined barometrically.’

Alas ! this cannot be done. Slavery depends not upon climate, but upon conscience. Wherever the wicked passions of the human heart can go, there slavery can go. Slavery is an effect. Avarice, sloth, pride, and the love of domination are its cause.. In ascending mountain sides, at what altitude do men leave these passions behind them? Different vegetative growths are to be found at different heights, depending also upon the zone. This I can understand. There is the altitude of the palm, the altitude of the oak, the altitude of the pine, and, far above them all, the line of perpetual snow. But in regard to innocence and guilt, where is the *white line*? How high up can a slaveholder go and not lose his free agency? At what elevation will the whip fall from the hand of the master and the fetters from the limbs of the slave? There is no such point. Freedom and slavery on the one hand, and climate and geology on the other, are incommensurable quantities."

Does Mr. Mann wish to be understood, that he thinks the slaveowner is quite as likely to remove his slaves of African descent from a sunny and fertile region, producing an abundance of cotton, sugar, and rice, to a cold and mountainous one, yielding little but maize and potatoes, as he is to keep them where they are? If not, if he admits that so great a difference will probably induce most planters to keep their slaves at home, then, and to the full extent of such admission, he himself "argues from physics to metaphysics," and "determines the law of the spirit by geographical phenomena," and "undertakes to settle by mountains and rivers the question of human duty," and "looks at the thermometer to ascertain whether a people will obey the divine command," and does half a dozen other antithetical and strange things, which all, however, amount to the same thing, namely, to the simple proposition that men of property are usually also men of sense, and will not often remove their property from a place where it is valuable to one where it will be entirely worthless.

But does the ground which we have here taken amount to an abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, when considered as a principle of public law, or as a rule for the legislation of Congress? Certainly not. For what is the principle of this famous Proviso? It is that slavery shall be prohibited by organic law—that is, by the law constituting or admitting any new Territory or State—from extending into any such Territory or State, where it does not already exist. But, according to the view here taken, and which has been pre-

sented with surpassing ability in the Senate by the two great statesmen of the country, the leading minds respectively of the North and the South, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, this prohibition is inapplicable and needless in respect to the territory lately acquired from Mexico, simply because slavery is prevented from going thither by other causes. The Proviso is already enacted for this territory by a higher power, and the act is enrolled in heaven's chancery. The principle, then, is affirmed, not abandoned. Accordingly, both the great statesmen just mentioned, who have advocated the course here pointed out, have also declared, with perfect consistency, their inflexible determination to support the Proviso in any and every case where it is needed and applicable. But they are not thereby bound, to adopt the illustration of Mr. Webster, to append it to a bill for the annexation of Canada, if such a bill should ever be presented. Nay, at the very last session of Congress, a law was passed to organize a territorial government for Minnesota, which contained no prohibition of slavery; the Missouri compromise, it is true, was applicable in this case; but if it had not been so, any attempt to append the Wilmot Proviso to the bill would only have met deserved ridicule. In spite of Mr. Mann's unwillingness "to look at the thermometer to ascertain whether a people will obey the divine command," the generality of mankind at the present day persist in believing, that ice and snow and a winter that lasts through nine months of the year are more effectual preservatives against African slavery than all the laws ever framed by Parliament or Congress.

It is true, that the action of Congress has been a good deal hampered by the previous action of the legislatures of the Free States, all of which, before the opening of the session, advised or instructed their representatives in the two Houses at Washington to insist upon an absolute interdiction of slavery in the newly acquired territory. But, as Mr. Clay argued with great force, these instructions were given before the circumstances of the case were known. It was generally believed, a year ago, by those who had paid no special attention to the subject, that Utah and New Mexico opened as profitable a field for the employment of slave labor as Texas; and that California particularly, with its long reach of sea-coast on the Pacific, and its abundance of the precious metals,

would be very attractive to slaveholders. Allowance was not made for the probability, that, as the gold deposits were mostly upon the surface of the ground, and cover large tracts of land which were literally common property, no private individual having any valid title to them, there would be an immediate rush of free laborers and adventurers to the new El Dorado from the four quarters of the globe and from the farthest isles of the sea. Now the question between Freesoil and Slave-soil, in these modern days, is always practically decided by priority of possession; for the two kinds of labor cannot exist side by side. The white laborer cannot be enticed at the South to work with the negroes in a cotton-field; you might as well expect, at the North, that he would allow himself to be yoked into the same team with his own horses and oxen. This is the great economical evil of slavery—the great harm done by the institution; it depreciates—it ruins—manual labor in the estimation even of the free; manual labor becomes work fit only for slaves. Free adventurers swarmed to the rich *placers*, or gold-washings, of California, as soon as the existence of gold in this region became known, and before a single slave could be transported thither; and the question was then virtually decided. These men, most of whom had seen better days, would not tolerate the presence of a gang of slaves working beside them; they would either emancipate them on the spot, by Lynch law, or they would hunt them off the ground, like wolves. If they had been slaveholders themselves, in their former and more prosperous days, their intolerance of the institution under present circumstances would be only the more conspicuous; it would be degradation worse than death to shovel and wash earth cheek by jowl with a slave. It is not at all surprising, then, that the free inhabitants of California, former slaveholders and all, repudiated slavery with one voice; they declared that it should never pollute their shores. The same result must follow in Utah and New Mexico. The soil, which is very poor soil, is already in possession of the free, who are tilling it with their own hands. Even if slaves should be sent thither, these men would drive them back again. Their vast tracts of elevated table land, torn into frightful fissures and gulphs by earthquakes and volcanic action, are, like the moun-

tains of Switzerland and Vermont, singularly propitious to freedom.

These facts and considerations not being generally known, the legislatures of the Free States were eager to rescue the territory from the blight, supposed to be imminent, of slavery. They passed resolutions in favor of inhibiting it, and had scarcely adjourned when the news arrived, that California of its own accord had determined to be free; that it had not merely nipped the evil in the bud, but had prohibited the seed from being sown. If the news had come one month earlier, — when a silly report was in general circulation at the North, that President Taylor had entered into a conspiracy with the Southern planters to smuggle the abhorred institution into California, and thereby to anticipate the action of Congress, — there is little doubt that the legislatures would generally have remained passive. But when they had once committed themselves, by the passage of the resolutions, we fear it is not probable that, even if they had continued in session till the intelligence from California had arrived, they would have rescinded them. It is too much to expect of any public body, that it will confess by its own vote that its former action was precipitate and based upon imperfect or mistaken information.

But farther; we must be permitted to doubt whether this action of these legislatures *was* a fair expression of the opinion of the people whom they represent, though it was doubtless intended to be such. For, in the first place, these legislative assemblies, elected for the sole purpose of *making laws* upon a limited range of subjects which are allotted to them with great precision in the Constitution, confessedly transcend their powers when they adopt measures or pass *resolutions*, which are no *laws* at all, which have no binding force upon anybody, and which relate to subjects that are admitted not to be within their province, but are expressly reserved by the Constitution for decision by a different legislature. With all due respect to the General Court of Massachusetts, and for the corresponding body in any other State, we must say that the *resolutions* which they occasionally pass upon such subjects as slavery, the tariff, the post office, and other matters, with which, under the Constitution, they have no right whatever to interfere, are entitled to just as much consideration as the

"resolves" gravely voted by the caucus, volunteer electioneering association, or "convention of all the universe" assembled in a village schoolhouse, — and to no more. When the legislature wastes its time on such resolutions, it sinks to the level of a mere electioneering assemblage. Of course, "the voice of Massachusetts," (if we must use the vulgar electioneering slang of the day,) ought to be heard in the national councils; but then it should be heard through its regular representatives constitutionally appointed for that very purpose; and with such men as Webster in the Senate, and Winthrop in the House, we have no fears but that it will be heard in tones which will echo from Maine to Texas. The paltry excuse, that the State legislature has a right to *instruct* the representatives of Massachusetts in the United States Senate at least, since these Senators are elected by the legislature, is abundantly confuted by the fact, that the Senators, when elected, have a constitutional right to hold their office for six years, while the members of the State legislature are clothed with power but for one year. Can the acts of the legislature of 1845, to which the constitution expressly gives validity, and immunity from repeal, for six years, be legally repudiated by the legislature of 1850? Or can anybody give a reason, why the Senators and Representatives of Massachusetts *in Congress* ought rather to be advised or instructed by the Senators and Representatives of Massachusetts sitting *in the State House* at Boston, than that the latter should be advised or instructed by the former? To our simple apprehension, it seems, that as the former are entrusted by the people with office respectively for two or six years, while the latter are trusted by the same people only for one year, the former have the better right of the two to give instruction or advice. The mere idea of a large assemblage of Berkshire farmers and Boston lawyers and editors undertaking to give advice to Daniel Webster about the proper performance of his duties, or about nice points of constitutional law, is sufficiently ludicrous.

Our second reason for doubting whether these legislative resolutions truly expressed the opinions held by *the people* of the States from which they came is, that, in most cases, notoriously, they did not convey the real sentiments of the very legislators who passed them and sent them to Washington.

Drawn up and enacted, (if such a phrase be applicable in such a case,) for electioneering purposes by legislators who were acting for the time in a mere electioneering capacity, and intended to conciliate the good will of a party, often the smallest out of three, which was yet supposed to hold the balance of power in the State, they truly express the political creed only of a portion of the community the least significant in point of numbers, though the loudest and most earnest in defence of their peculiar doctrines. Of course, we speak now without reference to any particular party, or to any particular views of the Constitution or of public policy. We are only explaining the general manner in which the machinery of electioneering action and the manœuvres of contending parties often produce an appearance as if the whole community had suddenly caught a fever or gone mad on some special subject, which was never heard of three years before, and will hardly be mentioned again three years afterwards. It was thus that the Antimasonic excitement, the Native American excitement, the Oregon question excitement, and now the Wilmot Proviso excitement, have broken out at different times, and after raging for a while, like the influenza, have then subsided with quite as little effect as the influenza would have produced upon the general constitution of the patient. If any one should judge, from the violence of the symptoms at the moment, that our whole community, — sober, pains-taking, and practical, as they usually appear, — are still liable to these periodical attacks of frenzy, he would do that community great injustice. Not one in five among them cares a straw about the matter, though he will still encourage his delegate or representative to agitate the matter very earnestly, as he is told that this course will operate to the advantage of "his party."

Every one knows, that there are two great and probably permanent parties in the United States, the Whigs and the Democrats, corresponding in some respects to the Whigs and Tories in England, between whom the voting population are so very equally divided, that a very slight accession of numbers to either is usually enough to turn the scale, and decide a Presidential election. Such an accession may often be obtained by judiciously picking up some topic of agitation, in which a very few persons are so deeply interested, that the

ties which hold them to either of the old parties are comparatively of little strength or moment. They will then vote either for Whigs or Democrats, according as they may think the one party or the other is more favorable to the one darling object or scheme which monopolize their affections. These are usually called men of "one idea," because they ignore or scout all other legislative or diplomatic questions, and will pay no attention to any of the great interests of the country, lest their minds should be diverted for a moment from the single object on which, as they think, depends the salvation of the universe. In regard to this aim or scheme, every one of them appears to have taken Hamlet's oath : —

" Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there ;
And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmixed with baser matter : yes, by heaven ! "

The exaltation of mind and temper under which such an oath is taken is apt, of course, to render the individual very noisy. The clamor raised by a party in this country, like the barking of a dog, is usually in inverse proportion to its size. For a while, the few obstreperous persons who compose it are only laughed at ; and as a crowd in the street are often amused by the impotent passion shown by a very small puppy, so the community generally seems to regard the outrageous noise made by these persons as an excellent joke. But as even Mormonism and Millerism in these days can find many converts, by and by it is discovered, that the number of these monomaniacs, or men of one idea, is very considerable, — that, although quite insignificant in comparison with either of the two great parties that divide the country, they are yet numerous enough, in a few States, to hold the balance between them, and give the victory to the one which they may prefer. As soon as this discovery is made, and especially if an important election be at hand, the Whigs and Democrats begin to vie with each other in courting the favor of this new party ; lately an object of general derision, it is now installed in the place of honor, and all politicians bow down before it. The demands of such a party are usually inordinate enough ; but when it is fairly put up at auction between the Whigs and Democrats, to be knocked off at the highest price that can

be obtained, the extravagance of the bids made by the two competitors almost exceeds belief. Three months ago, a few individuals appeared to have lost their wits upon one topic ; now, the whole community seem to have caught the infection, and to have gone mad in good earnest. They have very recently discovered, that a Free Mason is little better than a pirate ; and the town-clerk of a little village in New England is turned out of office, because it is violently suspected that he is not willing to go to war with England for the sake of obtaining the whole of Oregon up to 54° 40'.

This sketch is not drawn at all in the spirit of caricature, but in sad and sober earnestness ; and we appeal to every cool observer of the play of parties in the United States during the last twenty years, whether it be not, on the whole, a faithful one. The manner in which "the public opinion" of this country upon any political topic is manufactured, and the awe and trembling with which all politicians regard it, remind one of nothing so strongly as of a cat chasing its own tail ; pussy jumps round with amazing quickness, but the object that she pursues being carried round by her own effort, and with her own speed, remains just as far off as ever. Deference for an assumed public opinion at the North, which their own electioneering manœuvres have created, constrains one portion of Congress to vote for applying the Wilmot Proviso to territories where it is about as much needed as a law would be to prevent the falling of snow in the island of Barbadoes. In the popular vote for the election of a President, which was given in November, 1848, the Freesoil party, as it is called, which was pledged to support the Proviso by the sacrifice of all other objects, counted less than 300,000 persons in all the Northern States, and could not choose a single elector ; the Democrats, who had triumphed at the preceding election through their advocacy of the annexation of Texas, — a measure which added many thousand slaves to our population, and one Slave State to our Union, with a promise of four more such States within a few years, — numbered over 1,200,000 ; and the Whigs cast more than 1,300,000 votes for the election of a slaveholder. It is obvious, then, that three Freesoilers held the balance of power between twelve Democrats and thirteen Whigs ; and both the parties last named, of course, began to bid against each other for the favor of the three who

could decide between them in the next coming election. Under the influence of this rivalry, the legislatures of all the Northern States, before November, 1849, had passed fiery resolutions in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. Are these resolutions, then, the expression of a real, or a factitious, public opinion?

Unfortunately, the question which is now agitated in Congress does not relate *exclusively* to the admission of California as a Free State, and to the application of the Wilmot Proviso to Utah and New Mexico; it has been complicated, with all the other debatable matter relating to slavery, till it has become manifest that most of the questions which have been mooted between the Free and the Slave States must now be taken together, and all adjusted at once, or that no progress can be made in the settlement of any one of them. Within the brief space that now remains to us, therefore, we must glance at each of these topics, in order to see whether any of them places insuperable difficulties in the way of the settlement of the main question, or is so important that, for the sake of it, Congress must be reduced to inaction, the wheels of government must be stopped, and all the other great interests of the country must suffer. It is in these relations alone, that we have looked at the main subject, and in these alone it is proposed to consider each of the other questions which have been grouped around it, without any bond of connection between them but that they all affect the institution of slavery. In one respect, as already intimated, it is a misfortune that they have been linked together; for the settlement of any one being sufficiently difficult, the settlement of all at once seems nearly hopeless. But on another account, we are not sorry that the topic of slavery is now so fully presented, that, if decided at all, it must be decided in all its political relations, and cease to be a cause of popular agitation and political manœuvres for many years to come. Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster, who negotiated the treaty of Washington in 1841, deserve the lasting gratitude of both England and America for not resting satisfied with the mere adjustment of the dispute between the two countries as to the Northeastern Boundary, but for settling every other matter of controversy between them which was then ripe for action. The Oregon question alone was left, as an affair comparatively

easy to adjust, when the public attention should be sufficiently turned towards it, and when not complicated with other disputes.

The first collateral question that is presented relates to the boundary of Texas. The dividing line between this State and Mexico was wholly undetermined at the time of the annexation of the former to the United States; and when, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, our own southwestern boundary was extended to the Rio Grande, and California and New Mexico were added to our territories, we received from Mexico, also, her unadjusted dispute with Texas as to boundary. A portion of the disputed ground, the tract lying between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, as it is of little value to either claimant, and can never support a population large enough to constitute a State by itself, will probably be abandoned to Texas without controversy. Not so with the Santa Fé district and the other portions of New Mexico lying on the east bank of the upper Rio Grande. The native inhabitants of this region, the population of which is not likely to receive any large increase by immigration, cherish sentiments of bitter hostility towards the Texans, who now threaten to extend their disputed dominion over them by force. A border warfare must ensue, if Congress does not intervene to settle the difficulty. Slavery cannot be introduced into this region, which is too elevated, too barren, and situated too far to the north to recompense any other than free labor; but if the laws of Texas are extended over it, it becomes a portion of a slave State, and whatever political power it may subsequently obtain will be lost to the cause of freedom. Both humanity and policy require, therefore, that the North should submit to any reasonable sacrifice for the purpose of severing this region from Texas, and adding it to the free territory of New Mexico. Now, by the terms of the proposed compromise, the sacrifice required is a very trifling one. Texas is willing to sell her claim to the disputed region for what she calls a fair price, — for a few millions of dollars; and the United States are bound in equity to cause the creditors of Texas to be paid a sum at least equal to this price, because the revenue from the customs of Texas, which is now paid into our national treasury, was formally and solemnly pledged to these creditors as a security for their debt. Having

taken away the security, our government is bound to see that the debt is paid; and it can be paid with the price of the claim to the disputed region. The South makes no objection to this arrangement; Texas, as we have said, consents to it; and the North ought to be satisfied with it, because, first, it will preserve the national faith, and, secondly, it will rescue a large tract of country from the dominion of a Slave State, and, by joining it to New Mexico, add it to the "area of freedom."

The next collateral question, relating to slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, may be very quickly disposed of. In the compromise offered by the Committee of thirteen Senators, it is proposed to abolish the slave *trade* in the District, but to leave the *institution* of slavery there to die a natural death, which, according to all appearances, is not far off. Since the retrocession of Alexandria county to Virginia, in 1846, the District includes only one county, which is on the north bank of the Potomac, and which, in 1830, had a slave population of 4,505; this number was reduced in the next ten years to 3,320, a ratio of decrease nearly equal to 30 per cent. If the diminution has continued in the same ratio, the number at present cannot much exceed 2,000. Now, if slavery were abolished in the District, it is not likely that any one of these slaves would be emancipated; their owners, to avoid a loss of property, would send them off into Maryland or Virginia before the law came into operation, — a change which would certainly be a great hardship to the slaves themselves, by breaking all their ties of attachment to their former owners and homes. Where, then, would be the gain to the cause of freedom from this operation of sweeping out a few slaves from a little tract, embracing sixty or seventy square miles, in the very heart of a great slave region? There were at least eight counties in western Virginia, in 1840, which had less than 100 slaves each; they had but 634 in all. Who would advocate the removal of these 634 poor blacks into the neighboring and more populous slave counties, for the sake of obtaining an extent of "freesoil" at least twenty times as great as the present District of Columbia? Moreover, by insisting on the abolition of slavery in the District, the compromise will be defeated, and the slave *trade* will continue. Shall we reject a part, because we cannot

obtain the whole? We hesitate not to say, that by abolishing the traffic in slaves near the capital, a greater good would be accomplished than would follow from the prohibition of slave labor there, if it was still allowed to bring slaves thither for the purposes of trade, but not for continued residence. "It is a trade sometimes exhibiting revolting spectacles," say the Committee of Thirteen, a majority of whom are from the South, "and one in which the people of the District have no interest, but on the contrary, are believed to be desirous that it should be discontinued. Most, if not all, the slaveholding States, have, either in their constitutions or by penal enactments, prohibited a trade in slaves as merchandise within their respective jurisdictions." The bill which the Committee present for abolishing the trade in the District is "framed after the model of what the law of Maryland was, when the General Government was removed to Washington."

We come now to the last of these collateral questions — the most painful and perplexing one of all — the extradition of fugitive slaves. This surely is a case for mutual concession, for deference to the feelings and opinions of others, which have been made wholly irreconcilable with our own by the force of circumstances and by the accident of birth and education in different localities and under opposite influences. Southern planters are naturally irritated at losing a portion of their property, which is expressly guaranteed to them by the Constitution, and which would be preserved to them if the Constitutional provision upon the subject were strictly and faithfully observed. On the other hand, they are bound to recognize the fact, that it is an odious and hateful thing for their brethren at the North, who have been educated to an abhorrence of such an institution as slavery, to arrest the trembling fugitive from an unjust servitude to which he has been condemned by no fault of his own, and to deliver him bound into the hands of his pursuers. There are some things from which human nature revolts, and our spontaneous impulses in regard to them seem armed with a higher authority than any human law or human compacts can bestow. But those who feel the full weight of this primal obligation ought, not only in charity, but in justice, to remember, that the inhabitants of one half of the States of this Union utterly deny, — and, in the case of so vast a number of persons, we are constrained to admit, that

most of them *conscientiously* deny, — that there is any such obligation whatever; and it should also be remembered, that we are not entitled to gratify our own philanthropic impulses, and to follow our own moral convictions, *at the expense of others*, whose impulses and convictions point directly the other way, when we *might* gratify or follow them *at our own cost*. Let it be granted, then, that the obligation to protect the fugitive slave, who has reached our shores and claims our hospitality, transcends all others in importance. Still, if we can protect him *by paying the price of his freedom* just as well as by causing his owner, who acknowledges no obligation in the case, to be defrauded of that price, when it has been guaranteed to him by the solemn compact of the Constitution, then we are bound to take upon our own shoulders the burden and the charge of following our own convictions of duty where they differ from those of others. We have little respect for the conscience that luxuriates in following its own impulses just as long as it can throw upon others the only sacrifice which is required for compliance with them.

We are serious in this matter. Speaking as an individual only, so great are our dislike and abhorrence of the “peculiar domestic institution,” that we should much prefer that no fugitive slave should ever be allowed to leave the soil of Massachusetts, because reclaimed by his owner. But we do not, on that account, hold to robbing that owner of what he deems to be his just property, or to breaking a compact in one point, where it militates with our convictions of duty, while we hold to it in all other respects, because in these it advances our own interests. Let the State ransom the poor fugitive; let individuals ransom him. The cost of this proceeding will not be very onerous; it will not bankrupt us. The legislature holds its session at an expense to the State of about \$750 a day; and the charge, during the last two sessions only, for those days which have been devoted to the discussion of this very subject, would have been more than sufficient to ransom all the fugitive slaves who have been carried back from the soil of all New England for the last thirty years. Those persons whose very delicate consciences will not allow them to favor an appropriation of the public money to satisfy the demands of a slaveholder, though these demands are sanctioned by the Constitution, may get out of the dilemma by advancing

a very small sum from their own pockets for the purpose of helping the poor fugitive forward on his way to Canada, where no law or claimant from the United States can touch him. For the statistics of this matter, we borrow from Mr. Webster's recent letter to the citizens of Newburyport.

"To ascertain the truth, in this respect, I have made diligent inquiry of members of Congress from the six New England States. On a subject so general I cannot be sure, of course, that the information received is entirely accurate, and, therefore, I do not say that the statement which I am about to present may be relied on as altogether correct, but I suppose it cannot be materially erroneous. The result, then, of all I can learn, is this: No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Maine. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has been made in New Hampshire. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has ever been made in Vermont. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave has been made in Rhode Island within the last thirty years. No seizure of an alleged fugitive slave is known to have been made in Connecticut, except one about twenty-five years ago, and in that case the negro was immediately discharged for want of proof of identity. Some instances of the seizure of alleged fugitive slaves are known to have occurred in this generation in Massachusetts; but, except one, their number and their history is uncertain; that one took place in Boston twelve or fifteen years ago; and in that case, some charitably disposed persons offered the owner a sum of money which he regarded as less than half the value of the slave, but which he agreed to accept, and the negro was discharged. A few cases, I suppose, may have occurred in New Bedford, but they attracted little notice, nor so far as I can learn, caused any complaint. Indeed, I do not know that there ever was more than a single case or two arising in that place. Be it remembered, that I am speaking of reclamations of slaves made by their masters, under the law of Congress. I am not speaking of instances of violent abduction and kidnapping made by persons not professing to be reclaiming their own slaves."

On this subject, also, it behooves us to see how recent are our own convictions, whether of expediency, legality, or duty, which now come into serious conflict with the asserted rights of our brethren from the South. If it is within some fifteen years only, that our own eyes have been opened to the sin and shame of allowing that provision in the Constitution to be enforced, which says that all fugitives from labor, on the demand of their owners, "shall be delivered up," we ought

to have some charity for others, who happen to be a few years behind us in coming to a knowledge of the truth. Upon this point, we can offer only an abstract of the facts which have been collected and presented with great force by Mr. Webster. He first cites a clause from the articles of confederation between the four New England Colonies, which were established as early as 1643; that clause provides, "that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederated jurisdictions, that in such cases, *upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled*, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master or to any other that pursues, and brings such certificate or proof." Then, coming down to our post-revolutionary history, he shows that the act of 1793, enacted under the administration of General Washington, entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," appears to have been well considered, "and to have passed with little opposition." Massachusetts was represented at that time in the United States Senate by George Cabot and Caleb Strong; and the bill "appears to have passed the Senate without a division." She was represented in the lower House by Fisher Ames, Mr. Goodhue, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Bourne, Mr. Leonard, and Mr. Sedgwick, all of whom, with the exception of Mr. Leonard, supported the bill, which finally passed by a majority of forty-eight to seven; and of this small minority, two were representatives from slaveholding States. We have never heard that the enforcement of the provisions of this act created any ill-feeling, or gave rise to any disorder or opposition, before 1835, the period when the agitation against slavery commenced. Yet it did not provide for a trial by jury in the State where the fugitive was apprehended, or anywhere else; and in this respect, certainly, it was inferior to—it was not so favorable to freedom as—the bill which has just been reported to the Senate by the Compromise Committee of Thirteen, a majority of whom are from the South. Surely, when we have learned our own lesson respecting our duty to fugitive slaves so very recently, we can afford to have a little patience with others, who have not had the advantage of studying in so good a school.

But the importance of this subject is leading us away from the strictly limited topic which alone we proposed to consid-

er; — whether the precise question now offered for the decision of Congress covers so much ground, and is of such vital importance, that all compromise or concession with respect to it is impossible, and the national legislature must be allowed to adjourn in confusion and uproar, without taking any decisive step in relation either to slavery or to any other portion of the public business. Whatever may be the position occupied by any party or any individual upon this delicate affair, we have a right to call upon him or them for a definite answer to the plain query, *What is to be done?* What course do you propose with any reasonable expectation of its accomplishment? It is idle to make objections to any scheme that can be offered, to show that in some respects it is inexpedient, and in others that it falls below our convictions of right, unless the objector is prepared either to bring forward another project which is not open to these exceptions, and which Congress can probably be induced to pass, or to prove that inaction, doing nothing, is the smaller evil of the two.

What, then, would be the consequences of inaction, — of an adjournment of Congress without any law being passed upon any of the subjects that we have here considered, — a result which will be sure to follow, if the North insists that its whole claim in regard to this matter shall be granted? *The law of 1793 will remain in force*, and fugitive slaves will still be liable to be carried back to the State whence they escaped, without any chance being afforded, through a trial by jury, of preventing a mistake as to the person. The process of law, it is true, may be arrested by force; the trembling fugitive may be rescued by a mob, and in defiance of the courts and the Constitution. But however such a result as this may suit the views of a few half crazy fanatics, we know that the great body of the people from the Free States would regard it with indignation and horror. Better that the North of its own accord should dis sever this glorious Union, and resign the whole country to the plagues of anarchy and civil war, than that it should deliberately determine to break its own plighted word, to renounce its reverence for law, and to seek a triumph by brute force over the constituted authorities of justice! We do not hold to stealing the weapons of the devil, even for the purpose of fighting the battles of heaven with them.

If it be conceded that something must be done, it remains

to be shown how far the difference between the North and the South upon this subject has been practically narrowed down, and what is really the issue between them? The fanatics from one extremity of the Union must not argue the matter before the people, as if the question were, whether the North should openly trample the Constitution under foot, and refuse to give up fugitive slaves under any circumstances; no such demand is made, no such result is contemplated, by one out of a thousand of our voting population. The obligation to comply with the distinct requisition or compact in the Constitution, when reasonably interpreted and with due precautions against mistake or fraud, is almost universally recognized. And fanatics in the opposite extreme must not take it for granted, that the South claims permission for any of its inhabitants to enter a free State at his pleasure, and, seizing any person whom he may meet, whether white or colored without producing any proof of his assertion that he is a fugitive slave, instantly to drag him away into hopeless bondage. Certainly, no Southern member of Congress ever hinted at the necessity of putting forward so monstrous a claim. Yet, from exaggerations as gross as these most of the present jealousy and ill feeling between the North and the South upon this subject has arisen.

The precise question, the whole question, which Congress now has to determine is, whether the person alleged to be a fugitive shall have the benefit of a trial by jury, to ascertain whether he is a slave or not, *in the State where he is captured, or in that from which he is said to have fled.* Here is the whole point in controversy; this is the length and the breadth of the present difference between the North and the South on this painful subject. The North admits, that if it be satisfactorily proved, that the person arrested is a slave of the person who claims him, then the former must be "delivered up." The South admits, or is willing to grant, that the fugitive shall have the benefit of a trial by jury, that he may establish if he can, the fact that he was born free; but it insists that this trial shall be held in the State from which it is charged that he is a fugitive. The Committee of Thirteen, a majority of whom are from the South, recommend two additions to the fugitive slave bill now before Congress; according to the first, "the owner of a fugitive from service or labor

is, when practicable, to carry with him to the State in which the person is found a record, from a competent tribunal, adjudicating the facts of elopement and slavery, with a general description of the fugitive. This record, properly attested and certified under the official seal of the court, being taken to the State where the person owing service or labor is found, is to be held competent and sufficient evidence of the facts which have been adjudicated, and will leave nothing more to be done than to identify the fugitive." The other addition to the bill may also be explained in the Committee's own words.

"Whilst the Committee conceive that a trial by jury in a State where a fugitive from service or labor is recaptured would be a virtual denial of justice to the claimant of such a fugitive, and would be tantamount to a positive refusal to execute the provisions of the Constitution, the same objections do not apply to such a trial in the State from which he fled. In slaveholding States full justice is administered, with entire fairness and impartiality, in cases of all actions for freedom. The person claiming his freedom is allowed to sue in *forma pauperis*; counsel is assigned him; time is allowed him to collect his witnesses, and to attend the sessions of the court; and his claimant is placed under bond and security, or is divested of the possession during the progress of the trial to insure the enjoyment of these privileges; and if there be any leaning on the part of the court and juries, it always leans on the side of the claimant for freedom.

"In deference to the feelings and prejudices which prevail in the non-slaveholding States, the Committee propose such a trial in the State from which the fugitive fled, in all cases where he declares, to the officer giving the certificate for his return, that he has a right to his freedom. Accordingly, the Committee have prepared, and report herewith, two sections, which they recommend should be incorporated in the fugitive bill pending in the Senate. According to these sections, the claimant is placed under bond, and required to return the fugitive to that county in the State from which he fled, and there to take him before a competent tribunal, and allow him to assert and establish his freedom if he can, affording him for that purpose all needful facilities."

These provisions, of course, will not be satisfactory to that portion of the people from the North, — a very small portion we trust, — who declare that the article of the Constitution relating to the delivery of fugitive slaves ought not to be enforced,

and shall not be enforced, if by any means they can prevent or evade its action. To such persons we have nothing to say, except to urge upon them the obvious duty, if they repudiate the Constitution in one respect, to repudiate it in all, and immediately to do all they can towards a dissolution of the Union. Let them, like the ultra abolitionists, cry out with all their might, "Down with the Union! down with the Constitution! for it is a compact with sin, and an engagement to do evil;" and we shall then respect their manliness and consistency, whatever we may think of their discretion.

But of those who are determined to act up faithfully to all the requisitions of that instrument — itself a compromise — under which we and our fathers have lived and prospered for more than sixty years, however hard some of its provisions may be, merely resolving to put a rigorous construction upon those clauses in it which seem adverse to the great principles of human freedom. — we would respectfully ask, whether the safeguards here offered are not enough to prevent any abuse of the article in question, or any iniquitous application of it to purposes not contemplated by its authors. Can they honestly say they have serious fears, even after these precautions are adopted into the law, lest it should cause some human being to be delivered up to slavery, who is fairly, under the Constitution, entitled to his freedom? Impossible! they cannot say it. For the law of 1793, which does not provide for a trial by jury anywhere, had been forty years in force before the current of popular feeling at the North had even begun to obstruct its action; during all this time many fugitives were captured and carried back; and not one case among them has yet been cited in regard to which even a suspicion existed that the person reclaimed was not a slave. There have been instances of kidnapping; but the kidnapper, like the burglar and the assassin, lies in wait for his prey in the hours of darkness, and does not come forward under the light of heaven to claim the benefit of an article in the Constitution of the United States. No fugitive is ever likely to be reclaimed except by a Southern planter, whose fortune and position in life, however harsh a judgment we may pass upon his willingness to be a slaveholder, certainly place him far above any temptation to turn kidnapper; the mere supposition is injurious to him; and he does right to repel it with scorn and indignation. And now,

when conscious that the public sentiment of the whole civilized world, and especially of the Northern States, is strongly excited against him as an owner of slaves, and still more as a pursuer of one of them who has fled from bondage, he will be very loath to exercise the privilege secured to him by the Constitution, except in a very urgent case, and where not a shadow of doubt rests upon his claim. For this reason, though thousands of slaves have escaped by crossing the Ohio River, or Mason and Dixon's line, during the last five years, no attempt has been made to reclaim them in more than one case out of a thousand.

Then, rejecting the supposition of an attempt to kidnap, will there be any reasonable fear, after the safeguards above-mentioned have been adopted into the fugitive slave bill, that a mistake may be committed, and possibly a freeman be "delivered up," and in spite of all his efforts be retained for life in bondage? We think not. Trials are not very infrequent at the South, in which a reputed slave claims his freedom as a right, and establishes that claim. Many cases might be cited from the legal reports to sustain this remark; but we prefer to quote the plain and manly assertion made by Mr. Clay, in a recent speech in the Senate:—

"The statement in the report of the Committee is perfectly true, that the greatest facilities are always extended to every man of color in the slaveholding States, who sues for freedom. I have never known an instance of a failure on the part of a person thus suing, to procure a verdict and judgment in his favor if there were even slight grounds in support of his claim. And, Sir, so far is the sympathy in behalf of a person suing for his freedom carried, that few members of the bar appear against them. I will mention, though in no boastful spirit, that I myself never appeared but once in my life against a person suing for his freedom, but have appeared for them in many instances, without charging them a solitary cent. That, I believe, is the general course of the liberal and eminent portion of the bar throughout the country. One case I made an exception; but it was a case where I appeared for a particular friend. I told him, 'Sir, I will not appear against your negroes, unless I am perfectly satisfied that they have no right to freedom; and even if I shall become, after the progress of the trial, convinced that they are entitled to freedom, I shall abandon your cause.' I venture to say, then, that in all that relates to tenderness of treatment to that portion of our

population, and to the administration of justice to them, and the supply of their wants, nothing can be found in the slaveholding States that is not honorable and creditable to them."

In a letter recently published in the *National Intelligencer*, Ex-President Tyler confirms this statement in very decided language, and adds his own experience of the same character with that of Mr. Clay. The truth is, in a case of this sort, public sentiment at the South takes just the same direction that it does at the North; it is altogether on the side of the claimant for freedom, and is sometimes expressed so strongly as to interfere with the deliberate action of the proper tribunals. At New Orleans, a few years ago, a singular trial was had, in which a supposed yellow girl, who had certainly been a slave for many years, claimed her freedom on the ground that she was in fact a German, with no negro blood in her veins, who had been stolen from her parents, poor emigrants, when they first came to the State, many years before. The supposed parents had deceased; and there was no evidence in her favor but that of some German women, who had come over in the same ship with them, and who thought they recognized the girl by certain marks on her person, though they had entirely lost sight of her during the long period in which she had lived as a slave. Her claim was admitted, and she is now free; perhaps the testimony, as the case was certainly a strange and doubtful one, fairly entitled her to the verdict; but if the object had been, to prove that she was the child of these German parents in order to enable her to inherit their property, and not to rescue her from servitude, we think most lawyers would admit that the case would have been decided the other way. However this may be, the public sympathy for her, in New Orleans, was shown in a very decided manner. Fears were entertained, if the court had decided differently, that the mob would have invaded the court house and rescued her by force of arms. After her release, she was received with a sort of public ovation; a grand ball was given, at which she led off the dance with the gentleman who had acted as her principal counsel for a partner; and so much indignation was excited against her former owner that he deemed it necessary, several months afterward, to publish a pamphlet in his defence; in which, to say the truth, so much additional evidence was cited, tracing the history of the girl

from infancy, as to leave very little doubt that she was born a slave.

We have no wish to argue the legal question, whether a fair construction of the article in the Constitution requires that the alleged fugitive slave should have the benefit of a trial by jury in the State where he is seized, or in that to which his captor proposes to carry him. Eminent counsel learned in the law, as we do not pretend to be, differ on this point; and after making but two remarks upon it, we will leave it in their hands, as the decision of it does not affect our argument. The first is, that the great similarity of the language in the two contiguous paragraphs of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, the one of which directs that fugitives from justice, and the other that fugitives from service, shall "be delivered up" for the purpose of being carried into another State where the crime was committed or the service was due, create a pretty strong presumption, that the same place for the final legal investigation was contemplated in the two cases; and it is admitted on all hands, that fugitives from justice are to be tried, not in the State where they are seized, but in that to which they are to be carried. Our second remark is, that because the Constitution describes a fugitive slave as a "person held to service or labor in one State *under the laws thereof*, [and] escaping into another," the question whether he is a slave or not must certainly be decided by the laws of the State whence he has fled, not by those of the State in which he has taken refuge; and it seems most natural and equitable that he should be tried in the State whose laws must determine the result of the trial.

We have now finished our brief review of the questions at present before Congress relating to the institution of slavery; and it may safely be left to the decision of any reasonable man, not unduly affected by philanthropic declamations, sectional jealousy, party spirit, or the fear of public opinion, whether they involve any considerations of so vast moment, or any imperative moral obligation, which make it improper that they should be settled by a fair compromise of opposing views, and which render it absolutely necessary that the whole Northern or Southern claims should be insisted upon, at the certain cost of an adjournment of Congress in an uproar, with the postponement or defeat of this and all other

public business. We might safely leave this question to be answered by the Senators and Representatives themselves, if it were not for the jealous and fearful reference, which, as we have already noticed, they all make to what they suppose is the state of public opinion in the district or State which they represent. Each one endeavors to court the favor of his constituents, and thereby to secure his own seat in Congress, by advocating in their most exaggerated form the political doctrines which he knows to be most current and popular in his own region. His own zeal, he thinks, is measured by the violence of the language that he uses, and by the extravagance of the demands that he makes. Let others take the responsibility of legislating for the whole country; he will legislate, as he makes speeches, only "for Buncombe." He holds his seat only to assert the rights, to support the interests, and to maintain the opinions of Buncombe. His adherents at home, anxious to defend his claims against a formidable competitor, quote his most exaggerated expressions with applause, and strive to show how faithfully he reflects the minds of his constituents; while his opponents are on the watch, eager to detect the first symptoms of flinching, and to oppose to them the more uncompromising language and conduct of his rival. The words of both parties, uttered in reference only to this local contest, are caught up and quoted elsewhere as evidence of the state of public opinion in this particular district; and its representative in Congress, together with his colleagues from the immediate vicinity, is goaded on to new and almost frantic efforts to keep ahead, if possible, of the progress of public sentiment in his State. This extravagance and fanaticism are generated by a sort of reciprocal action between the congressman and those who elect him; each acts upon the other; each does his part towards manufacturing the "public opinion" before which he bows down and trembles.

Our object, we repeat it, is not to cast obloquy upon the proceedings or the members of the present Congress, but only to expose the tendency of the system or scheme of party politics under which they act; a tendency which is becoming more marked and fatal in its effects with the lapse of every year, and which is almost the sole cause why every great question, upon which opinions in different parts of the country are much divided, is pressed with so much discreditable

heat and violence, every plan of conciliation and compromise in regard to it being scouted by persons who look only to their own political success, and not to the reputation of the national legislature as a whole, or to the welfare of the Union. Furious menaces and howling exaggeration take the place of calm and dignified debate; the halls of the capitol often present scenes which would disgrace a bear-garden; and Congress attains the unenviable fame of being the most helpless, disorderly, and inefficient legislative body which can be found in the civilized world. Intolerance and extravagance are the easily besetting sins of our national character and political organization. The fanaticism of the South is fairly matched by the fanaticism of the North; and the only proper corrective of the evil in one case is a fair exposition of its magnitude in the other. If the people of New England would study the objections made to Mr. Clay's compromise plan — the denunciations of it — by the Senators from Louisiana and Alabama, and if the constituents of these Senators would lend a hearing to the equally furious diatribes against it uttered by Mr. Seward and Mr. Horace Mann, we doubt not both parties would agree, that the plan on the whole was reasonable and just.

Moderation and fairness in the national councils upon this subject, as one might have expected, have been displayed by those whose position is most independent, — either by those who expect soon to retire to private life, or by those whose commanding fame, being rather national than local, raises them above the influence of slight oscillations of public opinion in their native States. The two great statesmen of the country, *magis pares quam similes*, have nobly cast aside all reference to local jealousy and prejudice, and spoken out manfully for the whole Union to whom their reputation belongs. The veteran Senator from Kentucky, at an age which places him far beyond the hope of any earthly reward, and when he might well claim to be excused from all public duties, has come forward to bear the burden and heat of the day in maturing the plan of compromise, watching over and defending it in its passage through the Senate with all the vigor and activity of his youthful years, and repelling with graceful courtesy or triumphant eloquence the attacks that were made upon it from every quarter, but especially from

his home and the place of his affections, the slaveholding South. His words of conciliation and wisdom, though they fell upon many deaf ears in the United States Senate, have awakened a feeling throughout the country which ensures the ultimate success of his plan. When all his former public services, great as they are, have been forgotten, and not another record of his eloquence remains, his noble declaration, made at the opening of the debate, that although a slaveholder himself, and standing there as a Senator from a slaveholding State, he would never consent to the introduction of slavery into a territory where it did not already exist, — “No, Sir! never!” — will be remembered, and will carry down his name and his praise to all generations.

The South has attacked Mr. Clay; the North, we grieve to say it, has attacked Mr. Webster, whose course upon this question has been equally magnanimous, wise, and conciliatory. In his great speech of the 7th of March last, he amply redeemed the pledge that he gave in its first sentence, that he would speak “not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States.” No one had a better title to use such language; for he had earned it by the devotion of his transcendent abilities throughout his whole public life to the interests and the policy of New England and the rest of the North, whenever and wherever these interests could be maintained consistently with the higher duty which he owed to the Constitution, to the Union, and to his own conscience. We need not speak of the value of the services thus rendered; there is no man living at the North who is ignorant of them; there is no man living who could have performed them in his absence. We prefer to speak of the still greater occasions on which he has appeared, as he now appears, not as the champion of one State, nor yet of New England, nor even of the whole North, but in the broader and more glorious character of an American statesman, acting for the whole people, defending them against foreign encroachment and internal dissension, or interpreting and vindicating the instrument which is the charter of their liberties and the safeguard of their prosperity. In many a fearful crisis of this sort, when all these interests were imperilled, he has been our “pilot who weath'ered the storm.” When the grand attempt was made in 1833 to nullify the

Constitution and the laws, he bore the brunt of the battle in the Senate, concurring for that purpose with a President whose policy in other respects, both before and after, he uniformly and strenuously opposed; when, by the rash experiments of the same President, who "took the responsibility" of tampering with the currency and the public funds, every bank in the country had suspended specie payments, and commercial bankruptcy overspread the land, the weight of the contest still rested on his broad shoulders; and still later, when a war with England seemed imminent, as questions were at issue with her which stirred up public feeling from its very depths in almost every State of the Union, then, breaking loose again from his former political connections, he appeared as the pacificator between two mighty nations, and preserved the peace of the world. And so it has been through his whole public career. Whenever the clouds have blackened the whole heavens, and the winds have lashed the ocean into foam, and the ship seemed surrounded by the 'breakers, the trumpet tones of his commanding voice have been heard above the roar of the tempest, rebuking the spirit of mutiny or cowardice in the crew, while his firm hand has seized the helm and guided the vessel safely into port.

In the same spirit which moved him on these grand occasions, he has now again come forth, at a time equally big with momentous results, to stand between the excited North and the angry South as a messenger of peace, to rebuke the spirit of intolerance and fanaticism on either side, and to teach both parties the respect which they owe to the Constitution and to their own plighted faith. It is the fault of his own New England, if that rebuke has fallen heavily upon her; in the ardor of her sympathy with the fugitive slave and with the cause of freedom in the Territories, she had forgotten the terms of that solemn compact with her sister States, which she is not at liberty to violate in one respect, if she does not consent that it should cease to be binding in all. There is a moral grandeur in his position upon this subject which ought to be admired and respected even by those who cannot fully understand it. He was one of the first to sound the alarm against the proposed annexation of Texas, and fought manfully against it, when half of the North was recreant to its duty upon the subject, and his own native State voted against

him; but now that the act has been consummated, and the compact is executed, he declares that its conditions are binding, and that the public faith is pledged to their strict performance. He declares that he will resist to the last, the doctrines of *Nullification*, whether they are advanced by South Carolina or by Massachusetts. Equally resolute to oppose the extension of slavery into any territory where it does not already exist, he declares that he will not vote for the Wilmot Proviso for the mere purpose of insulting the South, or advocate its enactment for a region where it has been already enacted, and engraven on the rock by the finger of God. His doctrine and language upon these points are in strict accordance with the noble and appropriate motto which he has chosen for his speech, and inserted in the dedication of it to the people of Massachusetts: — “*His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed me vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meam ingenium non moneret, necessitas cogit. Vellem, equidem, vobis placere; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis.*” Woe to the people whose love of freedom, or of any thing else, is too blind and furious to allow them to hearken to words like these, or to reverence the statesman who utters them!

This is not the time, ours is not the country, where we can afford to ostracize our greatest men whenever they dare to follow out their own convictions of truth and right at the expense of our cherished prejudices. The canker which threatens to eat away all noble sentiment and upright conduct in our public affairs is a cowardly reference to public opinion, to the supposed will of a majority of the people, in place of an immutable standard of right and wrong, and the laws of God. If we cannot support even such statesmen as Clay and Webster in breaking away at times from this pitiful slavery to their constituents, the doom of public virtue under such political insinuations as ours is sealed; we shall be worse than the Athenians, who banished Aristides and Demosthenes, and raised such men as Cleon and Chares to the head of affairs. On this occasion, if the people of the North wish their Southern brethren to support Mr. Clay in the generous declaration which we have quoted from him, they must set them an example by not flinching in their own adherence to Mr. Webster. It is a poor business to search the former speeches and

writings of men like these, in the hope of finding some scrap or fragment which may convict them of inconsistency. Their present doctrine is avowedly one of conciliation and compromise, some portion of which is probably dictated not by their own best judgment, but by the magnitude of the present occasion and by the pressure of circumstances. The debt of gratitude that is due to them for their past services can be repaid only by having confidence in them now ; and by trusting *all* to their management, we firmly believe that the country would best consult its own interests.

There are some pleasing indications, that the sober and reflecting portion of the people are inclined to take these matters wholly out of the hands of the professed politicians, who have so wretchedly mismanaged them in Congress and elsewhere, and to confide them to the only persons who can conduct them with discretion and fairness. The opinion in favor of a compromise seems to be daily gaining ground in all portions of the country. Many of the most distinguished men at the South, who had retired from public life, have published letters to signify their joyful assent to the propositions of Mr. Clay. And from New England a loud voice has gone forth in cordial approbation of the course of their great statesman. Men who never meddled with politics before, except to cast a vote on election day, — presidents of colleges, professors of theology, grave merchants, eminent lawyers, and the like, — have signed a letter to declare their undiminished confidence in him, and to urge him to persevere. With such testimonials in his favor, he can well afford to endure for a time the reproaches of the intemperate and the factious.

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